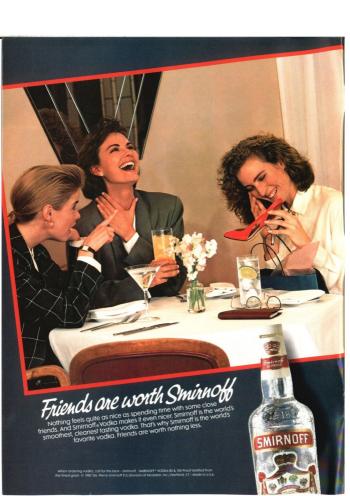
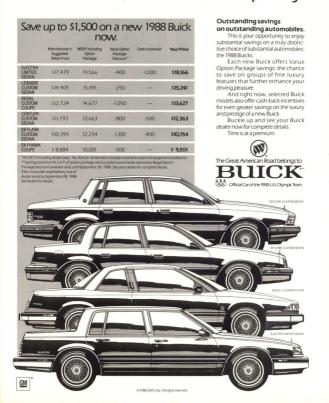
JULY 18, 1988

# ONWARD TO MARS



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### **COVER: A dramatic nighttime Soviet** launch heralds a new era in Mars exploration

Along with an ambitious schedule of unmanned missions, the Soviet probes of the Martian moon Phobos are paying the way for a manned flight to Mars. The fact has not been lost on many Americans, who think the U.S. space program should aim at putting humans on the Red Planet. The cost is stupendous, the technology tricky, and the hazards real, but Mars still beckons. See SPACE.



### NATION: The downing of Flight 655 14 raises questions on technology and morality

While experts try to piece together what happened aboard the U.S.S. Vincennes, the Iranians vent their anger and the U.S. wrestles with the issue of collective guilt. > Tarnished but unindicted, Attorney General Meese finally bows out. > How will Michael Dukakis, the consummate straight arrow, act on the world stage? ▶ Dukakis casts a wide net in search of a running mate.



### WORLD: Mexico's ruling party claims victory amid charges of election fraud

After dominating Mexican politics for 59 years, the P.R.I. loses its ballot-box hegemony as opposition candidates make historic gains. > An interview with the apparent winner, Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Washington Bureau Chief Strobe Talbott visits the fortified Sino-Soviet border and reports on the prospect of replacing guns with trade. ▶ An oil rig explodes off the coast of Scotland.



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Economy & Business Religion As the unemployment rate hits a 14-year low. firms confront growing worker shortages. ▶ A Texas job center saves

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Graf, is for the ages.

barrio youths.

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Art

To mollify opponents of women in the ministry. America's Episcopalians and the Church of England approve awkward compromises

Technology Aiming to impress voters with their savvy, the Democrats have turned next week's convention into a showcase of hightech management.

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No must-see new musicals this year, but the London theater season does boast provocative plays by Peter Shaffer

### 58 Profile

While William Bennett is stepping down as Secretary of Education. he may be looking to take a big step upward in politics.

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### Sport

This year's Wimbledon No longer suppressed, had a feeling of passage Russian modernist as new champions were painting emerges in the crowned. One of them, international market as Sotheby's holds a \$3.6 West Germany's Steffi million sale in Moscow

### 71 Theater

and Tom Stoppard.

### 74 Essay

If you happen to see demons and deities everywhere, trying to "live mythologically" may be more easily advised than done.

73 Cinema

Cover: Mars globe constructed from Mariner 9 photos-NASA/JPL

TIME (ISSN 040-781X) is published weekly for \$58.24 per year, by Time Inc. Time inc. Principal Office. Time & List Budder, Brocketsian Center, New York, IV., 1,0020-3382 x LL, Nixthon, President, Review of List Budder, Brocketsian Center, New York, IV., 1,0020-3382 x LL, Nixthon, President, Review of List Budder, Brocketsian Center, New York, IV., 1,0020-3382 x LL, Nixthon, President, Review of List Budder, Brocketsian Center, New York, IV., 1,0020-3382 x LL, Nixthon, President, Review of List Budder, Review of List Budder

### A Letter from the Publisher

uan Borras was "surprised by the size of my office and the size of the operation overall," both of which were far larger than he had imagined. Jin Hee Lee found the working environment 'a lot more relaxed than I thought it would be." Brooke Masters was impressed by "how much time is spent checking the facts."

For the past eleven years, Time Inc. has taken on some of the best and the brightest of the nation's college-seniors-to-be and invited them to spend the summer in New York City helping pro-

duce our magazines and, we hope, learning about life, work and the real world of journalism. The six interns at TIME in this year's crop are midway through their nine-week stint. If the nast is any guide, the summer will be humid with surprises.

"Many of them come from very small towns," says Tricia Rowland, who oversees Time Inc.'s college-intern programs. "By the end of the first few weeks, they realize how much they don't know. By the end of the summer, they think they've got the best experience they could have had."

The TIME interns of 1988 were chosen from 58 finalists nominated by 33 participating schools. Senior Editor José Ferrer helped winnow that pool down to the fortunate half a dozen. "We look at how well they think, see and write," says Ferrer.



Dec Mantone Domes Lee and Channel

"There's no formal training program. We orient them, explain a we orient them, explain a work from the program of the program of the magnine as reporters are assigned to various sections of the magazine as reporter-researchers Borras, who attends the University of Florida, is in World: Princeton's Lee is in the Humanities cluster, Charles Peo of Baylor is in Economy & Bustwork of the Program o

in TIME's New York bureau, and Bruce Strong of the Rochester Institute of Technology is a researcher in the magazine's picture department.

The experience has already proved educational. "I'm seeing how the right mix of text and pictures can have maximum impact on the printed page," observes Strong, For Masters, who is an executive editor of the Harvard Crimson, working in the journalism big leagues has practical advantages. Says she: "It's great to identify yourself as a reporter and have your phone calls put through, which is something that doesn't always happen at a college newspaper." Not even at Harvard.

Robert L. Miller

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Aaron Wachman. Chicago, Illinois

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Janet L. Moore. Glendora, Californi

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### Letters

### **The Fight Game**

To the Editors:

One answer to your question "Why the Fascination with Boxing?" [SPORT, June 27] is that we are not yet fully human beings. We still have a bit of savagery within us.

Steve Theodore Los Gatos, Calif.



I don't understand why you ran an article about a prizefighter that mocks and disdains him for having qualities common to that sport. I have little interest in or sympathy for boxing, but I found your piece cruel and condescending. Frances Kulas

ances Kuias Denver

Though boxing purists may contend that its appeal is its flast-paced action, un-predictability, colorful personalities and the wide-ranging styles and unique skills of the fighters, the truth is that boxing is of the fighters, the truth is that boxing is minimized and gets the adrenaline flowing better than the raw excitement of watching two men trying, by sheer brute strength, to knock each other's brains out.

\*\*Remeth L. Zenses. Calif.\*\*

Your story underlined America's appetral for violence. Why do we find it entertaining to watch men bash each other's heads for the reward of damaged brain cells? We have given up salt, sugar, tobacco, caffeine and alcohol because they are dangerous to our health. Can't we add cruelty to the list?

Su Ellen Fried Prairie Village, Kans.

Whatever his faults, Mike Tyson is a 21-year-old man—not a "monster" whose triumph over poverty and reform school results from years of grueling work and discipline. He and his achievement merit praise, not sniping.

Arte I. Pierce Jr. New York City Tyson has restored respect to a weight class in boxing that had grown fat, slow and boring. In one of the few sports where there are only two contestants, and where an off night can cost you the world championship. Tyson stands alone.

Steve F. Crawford Salisbury, N.C.

### **Defending the Poor**

The piece on the current state of pro bono legal aid for the poor LLAw. June 201 struck a resonant chord. More than 201 struck a resonant chord. More than 9,000 poor, primarily elderly people, came to the doors of Bet Tzedek (the alone, seeking legal assistance on housing, nursing-home and consumer-fraud problems, among others. That is a 28% increase over two years ago, though all have actually decreased allocations during the same period. It is a testament to the dedication of our corps of nearly 150 volunteer attorneys that more lawyers at Bet Tzedek.

Michael Feuer, Executive Director Bet Tzedek Legal Services Los Angeles

There are many public-minded attorneys like myself who obtained their degrees in the hope of being able to assist those in need but who find instead that the jobs don't exist because of lack of funding. When positions are available, the compensation is so low that meeting obligations like paying back thousands of dollars in student loans, is impossible.

Michael A. Ventrella

If lawyers are going to be forced to donate their services to the poor through mandatory pro bono work, then why not dispense with Medicaid, food stamps and rent subsidies and require doctors, food suppliers and landlords to make similar contributions of assistance?

Mark Warda Clearwater, Fla.

### **Controversial Commemoration**

As a nurse who served in Viet Nam and who had young Americans die in her arms. I find it fitting that the statue of a nurse may be placed near Washington's memorial wall [NATION, June 27]. Many of those \$81,56 dead Americans found comfort at the hands of the too few nurses there. Do you really think that in death they would find a monument of a nurse "intruding," as you described it; intruding," as you described it;

Jane G. Mason Alexandria, Va.

I am a liberated female who has devoted much of her adult life to stressing equality between the sexes, but I am nevertheless incensed that the Senate voted

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### Letters

96 to 1 to use my tax dollars to build a monument to the eight women who died in Viet Nam. The existing memorial wall pays an eloquent tribute to all.

Patricia A. Degenhart Heath, Ohio

### Taking Aim

After the recent incident in which Columnist Carl Rowan shot an intruder at his Washington home [PRESS, June 27], will the liberal, gun-control fanatics go after Rowan as they did Bernhard Goetz, the so-called subway vigilante? Don't bet any money on it. They will probably continue to be selective in their indignation.

Lebo. Kans.

It is interesting to note that Gun Control Advocate Rowan apparently does support the right to keep and bear arms. Or does he believe in it only for himself and other celebrities?

Don Bradley Bellevue, Neb.

### Adamant Archbishop

Ultra-traditionalist Archibishop Marcel Lefebvre had one of the relatively few sane voices in the Roman Catholic Church (RELIGION, June 27 1 The bishops and Cardinals who signed the Vatican II of documents, which modernized church policies, concluded a pact with hell. The catholic Church of the future should elevate Lefebvre to sainthood.

e Louise Vusich Kansas City

You stated that Archbishop Lefebvre's actions "would produce the first schism since the 1870s, when the Old Catholics rebelled against the First Vatican Council's proclamation of papal infallibility." In March 1897, the Polish National Catholic Church of America broke away from the Roman Catholic Church. Father Francis Hodur, who organized the new church, was consecrated a bishop in Utrecht by bishops of the Old Catholic Churches, thus preserving unquestioned apostolic succession. Even today we are continuing our work and mission independently, as a Catholic Church, but one that is nonpapal

(The Rev.) Czeslaw Kuliczkowski Edwardsville, Pa.

### Popular Kids

As the creator of the Cabbage Patch Kids, I must take exception to your note "Trouble in the Cabbage Patch" IECONO-MY & BUSINESS, May 16 la bout Coleco's financial woes. Coleco does not own Cabage Patch Kids but rather is a licensee of Original Appalachian Artworks, the company I founded ten years ago. While it is true that sales of Cabbage Patch Kids "peaked" in 1985, they remain strong to-

### Letters

day. The fact that Coleco is having trouble does not mean that Cabbage Patch Kids are no longer desirable. They have been consistently listed among the Top Ten best-selling toys during the past five years. Coleco's version of the product sells more than 6 million "babies" annually. This is not a "closet stuffer."

Xavier Roberts, Chairman Original Appalachian Artworks Cleveland, Ga.

### On the Rampage

The image of British soccer enthusias sha sal aways been bad. However, the riots this time were caused not solely by the hooligans from Britain but also by rowdy Germans (Wott, J. Juse 27. If soccer rothers, we may have to abolish it. A crackdown on the fighting doesn't remove its cause, though. These troublemakers use soccer to air their disastifaction with their lives. German and especially British governments must acknowledge and common the control of the control

Coburg. West Germany

### **Summer and Scrabble**

George Bush would have been 24 when Scrabble first appeared, so he could hardly have spent his childhood summers playing it, as you state [NATION, June 20]. Maybe it was Monopoly. That game would have been pretty good preparation for handling economic affair.

Loring Danon Beverly Hills

### Soviet Church and State

Public attitudes toward religion in the Soviet Union [RELIGION, June 20] can be illustrated by the case of Georgi Malenton, who held the highest office of the reached retirement age, Malenkov took a step unprecedented for a high Communist official: he made the act of public confession and repentate in a Moscow church and was accepted into its membership and was a

Moreover, private sources inform us that after the death of Leonid Brezhnev, his widow asked the Patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church to bless his body, because, in her words, "since he was baptized, he was a Christian."

Olga S. Hrubý, Editor Religion in Communist Dominated Areas New York City

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR should be addressed to TIME, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N. Y. 10020, and should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone. Letters may be edited for purposes of clarity or space.

# It's time to pass the trade bill

As Congress continues to wrestle with the trade bill, it strikes us that the debate has gone on long enough. It's high time for both Houses to pass the measure.

There have been hearings galors, countless compromises, a Presidential veto, and a failed attempt to override, which elimined the controversial plant-closing issue, now the subject of separate legislation. What's left is a positive law that fills a attorial need—and it is into the same grueling process will only have to start anew, ending perhaps in a worse measure.

While the trade bill sirt perfect, it's a great improvement over what was initially a blatantly protectionist measure. The bill recognizes that trade is multilateral—and that a country may run negative accounts with others with some of its trading partners and positive accounts with others without the sky falling. Accordingly, it allows the President to negotiate trade differences, even as it permits him to retaliate in those cases when unfair tackies are truly at issue.

Also gone from the bill is an earlier provision that would have penalized developing nations for utilizing their natural resources to modernize their economies. For American industry and agriculture, the bill ends a long, frustrating period of uncertainty with the passage of this bill, American trade policy would be established well into the 1990s, and our exporting industries could get on with the job of gearing up to serve more customers all over the world without the fear of trade wars.

Specifically, here are some of the reasons why we believe the trade bill deserves enactment:

- It authorizes the President to conduct multilateral trade negotiations, and establishes a procedure for gaining prompt approval of trade treaties. The President needs precisely such authorization as the
- current General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks continue.

   It strengthens the intellectual property rights of U.S. patent holders. This is especially important because the current GATT negotiations discuss intellectual property—patents and copyrights—for the

 It authorizes the U.S. to adopt a new international uniform customs classification system, which would reduce paperwork and other costs associated with customs transactions.

• It repeals the so-called Windfall Profits Tax, which hasn't been generating any income for the Treasury anyhow, because oil prices are too low to trigger it. Repeal of this tax could provide domestic drillers with more incentive to explore, by holding out the promise that future earnings won't be taxed away, if prices recover.

Some provisions of the bill still restrict the President's flexibility in trade matters, and may make some of our trading partners unhappy. But should this bill fade into limbo, there's little doubt the battle will have to be fought all over again. Protectionist sentiment never really qoes away.

The nation deserves and needs better. Having come so far, and negotiated so fruitfully, Congress should finish the job and enact the trade bill, now.



### **Nation**

TIME/JULY 18, 1988

# **High-Tech Horror**

### How a \$600 million system figured in a ghastly accident

At first, it seemed like a triumph of high technology. Supersophisticated radar aboard the U.S.S. Vincennes picked up the airplane almost as soon as it took off from the Iranian airport of Bandar Abbas, on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Within moments the radar received enough information about altitude, speed and flight path for Captain Will Rogers III to reach a conclusion: the plane was a hostile fighter flying an attack pattern. An IFF (Identification, Friend or Foe) signal bounced back by the approaching aircraft seemed to confirm that conclusion. Two missiles launched by the Vincennes were electronically guided precisely to the target. A mere seven minutes after the plane had been detected, it was blown to bits before coming close enough to do any damage-or even be seen by the unaided eve. The Aegis system, the most sophisticated battle-managing array of radars, sensors, computers and automatically guided weapons ever put together. had worked under combat conditions exactly as it was supposed to. Except .

Except, of course, that the plane identified by the Vincennes as a 62-ft.-long F-14 Tomcat fighter turned out to be a 177-ft.-long Iran Air Airbus carrying 290 civilians on a regularly scheduled flight to Dubai on the other side of the gulf. As a horrified world last week watched the pictures of torn bodies displayed by Iran on TV screens, questions mounted. Outside Iran, hardly anyone seemed to doubt that the shootdown had been a genuine mistake. But how could so sophisticated and costly (\$600 million a copy ) an intelligence-and-weapons system, and the highly trained men who operate it, have gone so terribly wrong?

A reasonably complete answer will have to wait several weeks until experts finish analyzing tapes from the Vincenne and other US. Navy vessels in the gulf. And some questions about the affair may never be resolved. Why, for example, did the Airbus pilot not answer the warnings issued in the last minutes before the shootdown. But enough has become the conclusion, one with disknown in the week since the tragedy to suggest a terrible conclusion, one with the world. And by extension other countries using high-tech weapons, may have become prisoners of a technology so

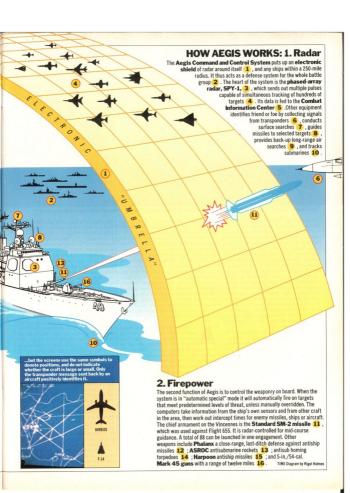
speedy and complex that it forces the fallible humans who run it into snap decisions that can turn into disaster.

To be sure, that is not the only consideration: simple inattention on both sides also figures into the tragedy. On the American side, the military claims that it does not systematically monitor civilian air traffic over the gulf. In fact, a Pentagon official told TIME that the Navy had not even provided the Vincennes with a schedule of Iran Air flights. Captain Rogers did ask a crew member to look into whatever material on civilian flights he had aboard. But none of it mentioned Iran Air Flight 655. Had Rogers known that a commercial flight was scheduled overhead at that time (Flight 655 was only 27 minutes late), he might not have concluded so quickly that the aircraft was hostile.

But how is it possible that the Navy does not track-civilian air traffic in the gulf region—particularly regular flights like the 655, which must have appeared on U.S. radar screens hundreds of times before? The answer seems to be simply that nobody thought it necessary to do so. The Navy is just not used to operating in the half-war, half-peace atmosphere of the gulf, where all whize through the same cramped airspace. The Aegis system is designed for the open

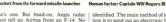












thought that wars would be fought. On the Iranian side, both civilian and military jets take off from Bandar Abbas airport. Military traffic controllers keep close watch on ship movements in the gulf; they must have known that the Vincennes was engaged in a gun battle with Iranian speedboats (two were eventually sunk) only twelve miles offshore at the southern end of the gulf at the very moment that Flight 655 took off. Yet apparently nobody warned the civilian traffic controllers that Flight 655's path would take it directly over a developing firefight: had the controllers known that, they say, they would have delayed the takeoff. Why the foul-up? The military and civilian controllers at Bandar Abbas, it seems, did not talk to each other

seas, where Pentagon planners mistakenly

Enter technology, in the form of the Aegis system. It is designed to enable a single vessel to protect an entire Navy battle group from all sorts of attack. The Vincennes is one of eleven U.S. cruisers equipped with the system, and the first to be deployed in the Persian Gulf. Phasedarray radars constantly sweep the skies over a vast swatch of ocean. They can track more than 100 aircraft, surface ships, submarines, missiles and torpedoes simultaneously. All show up as white symbols on one of four blue screens; each symbol is in a particular shape, identifying the object as airplane, missile or whatever. Computers can direct the simultaneous firing of missiles and other weapons over enormous distances at every form of threat. Aegis radar can supposedly spot a basketball at 150 miles and a high-altitude aircraft at more than 1.000 miles. One thing Aegis radar cannot do, however, is reliably distinguish the size and shape of an aircraft. Sideways, a longer plane might give off two blips to a shorter

plane's one. But head-on. Aegis radar cannot tell an Airbus from an F-14. No radar can, the Pentagon insists

How, then, can the Aegis system or its operators tell what kind of aircraft they are tracking? One method is flight pattern. Although the Pentagon at first asserted that the Airbus was outside the normal pathway for airline flights over the gulf, it has since conceded that the plane stayed within the 20-mi,-wide corridor all the time. The Pentagon claimed, however, that the pilot had wandered toward the western edge of the corridor and corrected that by veering back east toward the center line. As fate would have it, that turn headed the plane in the direction of the Vincennes.

ccording to the Pentagon, radar also showed the plane traveling about 500 m.p.h., faster than passenger jets generally fly on so short a hop as Bandar Abbas to Dubai (125 miles). Further, the plane was supposedly between 9.000 ft. and 7,000 ft. and descending at a time after takeoff when a commercial jet would ordinarily still be climbing. A nearby ship, however, the U.S. frigate John H. Sides, reported the plane at an altitude of 12,500 ft. and either flying level or ascending. Iranian air-traffic controllers, who have offered to turn their taped records over to U.S. investigators, claim that the jetliner was flying at about half the speed the Pentagon claimed and climbing from 12,000 ft, to 14,000 ft. The Pentagon cannot now explain these discrepancies. In any case, what Captain Rogers saw on the radar screen was a combination of direction, altitude and speed that suggested to him a plane preparing to attack

The Aegis system is programmed, and its operators instructed, to consider hostile any craft that cannot be positively identified. The main method of identification is to send out an electronic beam that automatically triggers a transponder (a combination of a transmitter and a responder) in the belly of the aircraft; the transponder sends back a coded signal that is read by an IFF device. From the symbols on the radar screen, the Vincennes got back confusing signals: one was in a mode used by both civilian and military planes, but another was in a mode used exclusively by military craft. This second signal supposedly was identical with signals sent out by Iranian F-14s.

According to a Pentagon official, in fact, the transponder signal was identical to that of one specific F-14 known to be based at Bandar Abbas. One theory espoused by Ohio Senator John Glenn (among others), who attended several briefings on the disaster last week, is that the Aegis picked up and confused transponder signals from the Airbus and an F-14 at the Bandar Abbas base or flying out of it at some distance directly behind the Airbus

This theory, however, seems unlikely. The Vincennes IFF would send a beam about three degrees wide, interrogating every transponder in its path; by measuring the time it takes to receive the answering "squawk," the system can calculate the range of the answering transponder. The Vincennes' computers can then select and display responses from transponders at a given range. According to Pentagon Spokesman Dan Howard, the radar would have distinguished among 200 planes unless they had remained within 8 ft. of one another at all times and had simultaneously been destroyed -a virtually impossible scenario.

But that raises the question of how the radar could have received two different signals from the Airbus. One possible explanation is that besides its civilian transpon-



High emotion: a crowd of enraged mourners carry the casket of an Airbus victim to Tehran's Cemetery of Martyrs

der, the Airbus carried a military transponder that it used to identify itself to military flight controllers at bases to which it sometimes ferried Iranian troops. Even then, though, there is no obvious explanation of why, as the Pentagon maintains, the military transponder gave out a signal that had been used only days earlier to identify an F-14. Iranian aviation officials, for their part, insist that the Airbus carried only a standard civilian transponder.

Even given the identification of the mystery plane as an F-14, there is some dispute as to whether an unmodified version of the craft would be capable of doing much damage to the Vincennes. The planes, built in the U.S. and sold to Iran in the 1970s during the reign of the Shah, are designed to fight other aircraft and are ordinarily equipped only with air-to-air, not ship-killing, missiles. The Pentagon retorts that Iran is known to have Harpoon antiship missiles and could have fired them; other experts doubt it. In any case, say some pilots, an F-14 trying to sink the Vincennes would probably have been flying much faster and much lower than the plane the Aegis system spotted. "No pilot in his right mind would attack a ship that way," one American F-14 pilot told the

Washington Post. The trouble is that Rogers and his crew had no time to reflect on such considerations. A ship nowadays can easily be sunk by a missile delivered from a plane that no one on board ever sees. In the open ocean, a possibly hostile plane can be tracked over hundreds of miles. But Admiral William Crowe Jr., Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, has likened combat in the Persian Gulf-only about 25 miles wide at the narrowest point of the Strait of Hormuz-to "fighting in a lake." A plane can reach a ship's missile range in minutes or even seconds after it first appears on a

radar screen; a captain who hesitates too long while trying to identify conclusively that radar-screen blip could lose his ship and the lives of all those aboard. That almost happened in May 1987 to the frigate Stark. It was hit by two missiles launched in error by an Iraqi plane. The ship was severely damaged, 37 crewmen were killed, and Captain Glenn Brindel was pressured into retirement for failing to take defensive action

ince then, the U.S. has promulgated new, hair-trigger "rules of engagement" for the gulf. They specify that commanders need not wait until their forces are fired upon before unloosing their own weapons. All they need is some convincing indication that a ship or plane is approaching with hostile intent. Doubtless influencing Rogers' decision was the fact that his ship had just been engaged in hostilities. Following reports of Iranian speedboat attacks on two neutral ships, the Vincennes sent a helicopter to investigate. The Iranians fired on the helicopter, triggering a firefight that Flight 655 had the foul luck to wander into

Under intense pressure, Rogers had the Vincennes beam seven warning messages-three on a civilian radio frequency, four on a military one-at the approaching aircraft; the nearby frigate Sides chipped in with five more. The pilot of the Airbus never answered-although he had been chattering away to the control tower at Bandar Abbas throughout his brief flight. His last words: "I am at level one-two-zero [12,000 ft.], climbing to one-four-zero [14,000 ft.]." The last words from the controller at Bandar Abbas, who was about to turn over control to a center in Tehran: "Goodbye, have a nice flight.

One Iranian official suggests that U.S.

ships so often query civilian airliners, and even try to order them to change course that some pilots have got in the habit of ignoring such communications; until July 3, they got away with it. But Rogers requested and received permission from Rear Admiral Anthony Less, aboard the command ship U.S.S. Coronado, to fire. The Vincennes then launched two Standard SM-2 missiles that found their target with unerring precision.

In retrospect, the most frightening part of the tragedy is its seeming inevitability. Rogers may have made the only decision he could, given what he knew and when he knew it. The U.S. rules of engagement are not unreasonable, considering the situation in the Persian Gulf, and the Aegis system apparently worked as it was supposed to. The tragedy seems to have resulted from a collision of random events (an airliner taking off at the moment a naval battle was beginning, for example) with inflexible technology in a pattern that could conceivably happen again. The Navy immediately began searching for ways to guard against that possibility, including the obvious step of feeding information about scheduled civilian air flights into military computers.

But these are at best partial and local answers to a problem that goes much deeper. The central question is whether technology may be pushing the fallible humans who operate it beyond their ability to make wise judgments instantly on the basis of what, with even the most sophisticated systems, will often be ambiguous information. This question applies not only in the Persian Gulf, but wherever there are fingers on buttons that can launch deadly weapons By George J. Church.

Reported by David S. Jackson/Tehran and Jay Peterzell/Washington

### Nation

### Calls for Revenge—and Caution

Despite Iranian threats, reaction to Flight 655's fate is muted



A throng of angry mourners surged through the streets of Tehran, balancing the flagdraped coffins of Iran's latest martyrs above their heads. "Death to America!" "Death to Reagan!" "Revenge, revenge!" they shouted, as the cameras of foreign journalists invited for the occasion focused on close-packed faces distorted by fury

and grief. While U.S. officials struggled to explain how the U.S.S. Vincennes had mis-

takenly shot down Iran Air Flight 655 with 290 civilians aboard, the mullahs who run Iran sought to make the most of their morbid propaganda windfall. Public memorial services took place in at least four cities At Bandar Abbas, the coastal town from which the doomed jet took off, reporters were given a look at some of the bloated and mutilated bodies of the victims, about 170 of whom had been dragged from the Persian Gulf by week's end.

Iranian leaders took turns denouncing the misdeeds of the "arch-Satan" America. Presi-dent Seved Ali Khamene'i called the downing of the aircraft "one of the biggest crimes of the war," while Ayatullah Hussein Ali Montazeri, designated successor to Spiritual Leader Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini, advocated sabotage "on American financial, political and military targets everywhere." Khomeini urged his people to "go to the war fronts and fight against America and its lackeys." Both Khamene'i and Khomeini, however, seemed just as intent on redoubling efforts against Iraq as denouncing America.

Militant rhetoric aside, many analysts concluded that immediate retaliation against the U.S. was unlikely. For one thing, the Iranians appear to lack the military capability to strike an effective blow at U.S. forces in the region. Though the Revolutionary Guards' Boghammar speedboats continue to threaten neutral shipping in the crowded gulf, any attempt to confront U.S. warships patrolling in the area would be suicidal. And sponsorship of new terrorist bombings or kidnapings would only turn international public opinion against Iran, taking much of the onus

There were uncharacteristic calls for restraint from some Iranian leaders and their allies. Sheik Mohammed Hussein

Fadlallah. spiritual leader of the pro-Iranian Hizballah in Lebanon, urged that no harm come to the nine American hostages held by Muslim extremists. "I find no justification for making the hostages account for a matter to which they are not connected " Fadlallah said. Hashemi Rafsanjani, Iran's powerful and pragmatic Assembly speaker, last week warned against "some amateurish action" that might "remove the wave of propaganda that is now heaped on America's head." By showing moderation, the Iranians ap-

Spears and arrows: Khamene'i denounces the "arch-Satan" But many analysts felt immediate retaliation was unlikely.

parently hope to press their propaganda advantage when the United Nations Security Council considers Iran's call for condemnation of the U.S. and withdrawal of the American fleet from the Persian Gulf

Tehran's relatively subdued response to the shootdown is further evidence that at least some Iranian officials are determined to end their country's diplomatic isolation. In recent months the government has sought to repair ruptured relations with Britain, France, Canada and even, it was disclosed last week, the U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz revealed that beginning last April, the Iranians initiated a series of secret contacts with the U.S. in an effort to open a diplomatic dialogue. Washington responded positively, State Department officials said, but insisted that any discussions be with an "authoritative" Iranian representative. Shultz was still waiting for a reply to that demand when Flight 655 went down.

Around the world, governmental re action to the episode was muted. There was resolute support for the U.S. from the Arab gulf states, whose leadership blamed the eight-year-old Iran-Iraq war for the shootdown. Libyan Strongman Muammar Gaddafi's government predictably labeled the destruction of the airliner a "disgraceful and terrorist act," while Iran's hard-line ally Syria expressed "pain, dismay and disgust." As always, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was President Reagan's staunchest defender. "You cannot put navies into the

gulf to defend shipping from attack without giving them the right to defend themselves." said she. Nor was the U.S. gulf policy seriously questioned by Washington's other Western al-

lies or Japan. Most interesting of all, perhaps, was the Soviet Union's failure to exploit the situation. Soon after the shootdown, Radio Moscow labeled it "deliberate mass murder in cold blood." But subsequent statements were less shrill. Soviet Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov branded the Vincennes personnel "trigger happy" and let it go at that. Asked why he was not more critical, Gerasimov said he did not want to follow the "bad example of the totally wild anti-Soviet reaction' in the U.S. to the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 in

On Capitol Hill the disaster raised new calls for congressional oversight of the Administration's gulf policy, which a recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff report called "dangerously nebulous" and "confused." Because the 1973 War Powers Resolution has not been

1983

invoked, the President has not been forced either to justify his policy to Congress or bring U.S. forces home within a specified time. And despite last week's tragic events, he is under little real pressure to change a policy that Administration officials insist has been strikingly successful at achieving its aims: to contain Iranian aggression, restrict Soviet involvement in the gulf, keep international sea-lanes open and restore American credibility among the Arab gulf states in the wake of the Iran-contra scandal. Barring a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict, U.S. warships may be found in gulf waters long after Reagan's departure from the House

-By Michael S. Serrill. Reported by Dean Fischer/Bahrain and David S. lackson/Tehran with other hureaus



# THESE SAABS MAY DRAW AN OCCASIONAL GLANCE OR TWO. (OR THREE.)

Saabs have always had a reputation for their individuality, so to speak. The ultimate expressions of that Saab individuality are the two cars in the picture above. They are the Saab 900 Turbo Convertible and the Saab 900 Turbo SPG (for Special Performance Group).

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Understandably, these models are in limited supply. However, if you're fortunate, your Saab dealer will have one of them in stock.

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The most intelligent cars ever built.



The Stab 900 Series starts at \$15,432 and goes up to \$26,085 for the SPG and \$30,632 for the Convertible. Might sugg. retail prices not including taxes, license, destination charges, dealer charges or options. Prices subject to change. O Copyright 1988 by Saab-Scania of America. Inc.

### Nation

### When Bad Things Are Caused by Good Nations



The event defied precedent. The U.S. Navy blew 290 people out of the sky-victims whose only offense was the understandable desire to fly from Iran to Dubai. Something had gone

monstrously awry, yet Americans seemed to respond almost grudgingly: there were guilt-stricken voices, yes, but they were distressingly few, and there was almost no compelling sense of shame. What the nation offered in the face of inadvertent tragedy was dry, formulaic expressions of official regret, the diplomatic equivalent of preprinted condolence cards

The captain of the Vincennes, Will Rogers III, came closest to genuine emotion when he began a written statement, "This is a burden that I will carry for the rest of my life

"He was unable, however, to end his sentence there. Like good people who cause bad things to happen, he felt the need to explain and justify rather than putting a period after his

grief: "but under the circumstances . . . I took this action to defend my ship and my crew." The Chair-man of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe Jr., used a similar yes-but formulation in saying, "We deeply regret the loss of life here, but that commanding officer had a very heavy obligation to protect his ships, his people

And what of Ronald Reagan, a President normally so lavish in his displays of heartfelt sentiment? On that somber Sunday, July 3, Reagan dispatched a formal fiveparagraph note to Iran expressing "deep regret. The President told aides he considered this an

apology that satisfied the nation's obligations, but his public comments were measured in the extreme. Reagan allowed that the shooting down of the Iranian airbus was a "great tragedy," but soon belittled even that clichéd description by

also calling it an "understandable accident.

Words may be small balm in the face of pictures showing lifeless children plucked from the Persian Gulf. But there is something disturbing when a great nation finds itself mute in the face of its own complicity in disaster. Corporations are not expected to show soul, yet immediately after the Bhopal disaster the chairman of Union Carbide took the risk of making a symbolic pilgrimage to India. Personal gestures of atonement are commonplace in other cultures: the president of Japan Air Lines resigned because 520 passengers perished in a 1985 plane crash.

America's tongue-tied denial may be rooted in the way the destruction of Flight 655 brutally conflicts with the nation's self-image. Americans do not see themselves as trigger-happy gunslingers; that black-hat role was played by the Soviet Union in 1983 when it brazenly shot down a Korean airliner. Terrorists are supposed to be the ones who cause death in the air-not the nation upholding the civilized rights of free passage in the Persian Gulf.

Social psychologists use the term "cognitive dissonance"

for the anxiety caused when facts conflict with deeply held beliefs. Americans appear to have responded to the cognitive dissonance triggered by the Iranian airbus disaster by stifling both moral responsibility and collective grief. A Washington Post-ABC News poll found that 74% of those surveyed believe that Iran is more to blame than the U.S. for the destruction of Flight 655. Certainly this reaction was compounded by the role that Iran plays in American demonology. Nine years of demonstrators in Tehran chanting "Death to America!" have fueled an emotional climate where 290 dead Iranians are deemed unworthy of genuine mourning, even when they are chance victims of a wayward American missile.

The Pentagon rushed a six-member oversight team to the Persian Gulf to review the Vincennes' procedures and performance. The rationale for the inquiry is clear: If the Vincennes correctly adhered to the rules of engagement, how could America possibly be blamed for the tragedy? But such

bureaucratic reasoning and reflexive faith in systematic procedures fails to countenance that sometimes-in a disorderly world-grand intentions produce grotesque results.

Central to the American character is a litigious mind-set that cannot acknowledge blame without worrying about legal liability. Before the passengers on Flight 655 were even buried, Washington policymakers were locked in a distracting wrangle over whether to pay damages. The questionable notion that some form of monetary compensation to the victims' families could assuage Iran's grief was advanced by House Speaker Jim Wright and

Republican Senator John Warner. The Administration has agreed to study the possibility of such payments, and the President is leaning strongly in favor of them. The primary obstacle appears to be political: 61% of those polled oppose

such payments.

The destruction of the Iranian airbus should, by rights, lead to some form of searing national soul-searching. Whatever the provocation, whatever the perceived danger, whatever the rectitude of America's mission in the gulf, it was the Vincennes that fatally fired. The captain, who was only following proper procedures, may be free of personal fault. But no matter how understandable each of the Navy's actions. the fact remains that a string of American decisions created a situation that led to the shooting down of the Iranian

But judging from the denial and drift last week, the nation seems on the verge of endorsing the premise that the death of 290 civilians warrants only conditional and begrudging apologies. Because the U.S. did not intend for those people to be killed, many Americans seem to be saying, it is thus not at fault that they were. If so, Independence Day Weekend 1988 may be remembered as that moment when Americans declared their independence from the moral consequences of misadventure. - Ry Walter Shanire



### Veni, Vidi, Vindicated?

Tarnished but unindicted, the Attorney General calls it guits

Vindicate. vt. To free from any question of error, dishonor, guilt, or negligence. —Webster's Third New International Dictionary

W hen Independent Counsel James McKay delivered the results of his 14-month investigation of Attorney General Edwin Meese to a three-judge Washington panel last week, it was clear he would not seek a criminal indictment. A few hours later in Sacramento, the Attorney General declared that the result "fully vindicates me" and announced that he would resign by the end of this month or early August to "accept opportunities in the private sector." Meese had not yet read the 830-page report, which will probably not be released before July 15, but in making his announcement he followed the historic dictum of cagey generals engaged in losing battles: declare victory and leave the field. Whether the chief law-enforcement official of the U.S. is thereby "vindicated." that is, absolved from any question of error, dishonor or negligence, is still very much unresolved

After months of high drama and low comedy, marked by recurrent accusations of impropriety and the highly publicized defections of several top Justice Department officials. Meese's announcement was something of an anticlimax. As soon as the Attorney General's name began to crop up in the Wedtech scandal 15 months ago, cries for Meese's resignation were as regular as congressional quorum calls. During the ensuing months, Meese became a cumbrous liability for the presidential campaign of George Bush and a living symbol of what Democrats like to call the "sleaze factor

As pressure for his departure increased. Meese decried the accusations as media mugging and "partisan politics," vowing that he would not be forced out of office. His about-face, therefore, caught the White House off guard. Only two weeks ago Meese had told top Reagan aides that he would stick around to rebut McKay's report and attend the Republican Convention, finally packing his bags in September. Reagan had not put any resignation pressure on Meese, his longtime friend and aide and the last of the Californians that the President brought with him to Washington in 1981. Other White House officials, however, did not share the President's reluctance. "We all knew the report would not be kind to him, said one aide. "so the sooner the exit. the more dignity could be retained."

Just how unkind the McKay report is will not be known for sure until it is publicly released, along with a rebuttal prepared by Meese's lawyers. Although McKay did not elect to indict, his report is expected to cite a number of examples of questionable ethical conduct by the Attorney General. Among them: his relationship to San Francisco Lawyer E. Robert Wallach, who has been indicted on influence-peddling charges; assistance Meese gave to the New York City-based Wedtech Corp., which helped the company win a \$32 million Government contract; a financial partnership that Meese had with W. Franklyn Chinn, in which the Attorney General earned an 80% profit in 18 months; and his connection to a plan to make secret payments to Israeli officials in return for their promise not to disrupt a proposed Iraqi oil pipeline.

According to portions of the McKay report that were leaked to the New York Times last week, the Iraqi pipeline project was considered virtually moribund until Meese, at Wallach's insistence, made a telephone call to then National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane. Says the report: "It was highly unusual for a Cabinet

Final act: Meese prepares to take his leave



officer to request Mr. McFarlane to meet with the Cabinet officer's friend about a matter of commercial interest to the friend."

The McKay report is likely to claim that Meese violated various provisions of the federal Standards of Ethical Conduct for Government Officers and Employees, which all officials and staff members must abide by or face administrative action. Meese is likely to have violated the requirement that officials avoid any action that creates the appearance of "using public office for private gain" and "giving preferential treatment to any organization or person." McKay is also expected to refer this list of lapses to the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility, which may then launch an investigation of its own. Some Justice officials suggested that Meese's abrupt resignation was designed to pre-empt or at least blunt such an embarrassing in-house probe. But the Justice Department inquiry can go ahead even after Meese's departure.

The Attorney General's resignation was greeted with barely concealed glee by the Bush campaign. Although Bush himself had stoically refrained from publicly criticizing Meese, Bush advisers had warned Meese that the Vice President

would have to go on record with an opinion once the McRay report was peleased. One Bush emissary had confidentially informed Mees that it was unlikely that his ethical conduct would satisfy the high ideals of the Bush presidential campaign. As it turned out, the resignation allowed Bush to confine his public remarks to a simple, noncommittal phrase: "Ed did the right thing, and I wish him well."

Meses decided to get out while the getting was good. As a past master of White House spin control, he knew he could soften the sting of McKay's report by characterizing kind was in it. Moreover, Meses related that his effectiveness at Justice was crippled. The department is operating with three of its four top opening with hiree of its four top short will be a supported by the soft of the short will be a supported by the support of the short will be a supported by the support of the short will be a supported by the support of the short will be a step a support of the short of the sho

Meese's self-proclaimed vindication suggests that the ethical conduct of the nation's chief lawenforcement official should be measured by an absurdly narrow criterion: managing not to be charged with a crime. In fact, says Humorist Mark Russell, Meese's "resignation statement set a new standard for Government service-I am unindicted; therefore I succeeded." Ultimately, whether or not Meese succeeds in being vindicated will be left to the court of public opinion. -By Richard Stengel. Reported by Steven Holmes and Elaine Shannon/Washington

# **Dukakis Wants to Play by the Rules**

What's so unnerving about a candidate who has actually read the Rio Treaty?



lations. Crammed into his corner office at the Massachusetts statehouse was a pride of professors, including Madeleine Alpright, Joseph Nye, Robert Murray, Marshall Goldman and Robert Legold. Also present was Senator Bill Bradley, foremost of the congressional foreign policy mavers Dukakis has come to respect. In the Company of the Company of the Company in the Company of the Company of the Company in the Company of the Company of the Company in the Company of the Company of the Company in the Company of the Company of the Company in the Company of the Company of the Company in the Company of the Company of

But Dukakis was keyed up, eager. "Before we could trot through our set pieces," said one participant, "he was challenging us, picking our brains, pitting us against one another." Among his questions: What was motivating Gorbachev's "mew thinking" in foreign policy? Was it mainly domestic economics? Or did Western pressures play a role?

It was more than an academic exercise. Early in the campaign, Dukakis argued that Gorbachev had agreed to the treaty eliminating intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Europe because of domestic economic pressures, not because of NATO's deployment of its own missiles. That woolly assertion contributed to the impression that he was a naïf on foreign policy. But as he quizzed the professors, Dukakis expressed a keener appreciation of the nuances. Out of the session came the foundation for a studiously centrist foreign policy address he gave last month. Says Harvard's Nye: "He has not changed his views or first principles, but he has been deepening his feel for the issues

Although Dukakis has not reversed outright any of the dowish positions he took in the primaries, his emphasis is different these days. He seems intent on preventing George Bush from portraying close the properties of the doctume of determine. He properties of the properties of the

Yet Dukakis' principles are still for the most part the opposite of Reagan's:

Dukakis opposes most new nuclear weapons systems and argues that the resources should instead be directed to conventional arms.

He dismisses worries that America's

land-based missiles are becoming vulnerable to a pre-emptive Soviet strike.

able to a pre-emptive soviet strike.

▶ On foreign involvements, especially in
Latin America, he rejects Reagan's "lone
cowboy" approach and prefers to act in
concert with allies and comply with inter-

national law.

► He is convinced that America's global influence in the 1990s will be determined more by its economic strength than its

more by its economic strength than its military might.

He believes that U.S. policy, in dealing with South Africa or any repressive re-

with South Africa or any repressive regime, should be an unambiguous reflection of American values—freedom, democracy, human rights—rather than a cold calculation of strategic interests.

Despite pressure from Jesse Jackson's supporters. Dukakis refuses to renounce the current NATO doctrine that threatens the first use of nuclear weapons if a Soviet invasion overwhelms Western Europe. Instead, Dukakis speaks of the need to build up NATO's capacity for "winning" a nonnuclear war. Such talk understandably unnerves European allies, who know the horrors of wars being waged on their territory. But aside from the unartful language. Dukakis' goal makes sense: enhancing NATO's strength could deter a conventional war or, if that failed, raise the threshold at which nuclear weapons might be used

"Dukakis has long been advocating greater emphasis on conventional weap-ons. When the U.S. Navy sailed harm's way in the Persian Gulf, Dukakis was driving to Washington's airport with Georgetown's Albright, a close adviser. "He said it was mind-boggling that the U.S. didn't have any minesweepers available," she recalls. "He was also stunned by the horror stories he heard about the lack of ammunition and spare parts."

evertheless. Dukakis' support for a stronger conventional defense seems more intellectual—and politically calculated—than visceral. He does not seem as passionate about it as, say, his deunuciations of the contrax. One reason his support for a conventional buildup amaki into his penchant for holding down costs. The dirty little secret about nuclear wapons is that they are a cheap way to counter Soviet advantages in geography and numerical strength.

Cost considerations, rather than strategic ones, are the main reason Dukakis opposes most new nuclear weapons, including mobile missiles. The argument for them is compelling: they would be far less vulnerable to a pre-emotive strike. But

when his Cambridge experts delve into such things as "aim points" and "kill ratios" in discussing nuclear strategies, Dutwing and the strategies, Dutwing was the talk as "abstract theology" about how many warheads can dance on the head of a pin. "Some of the arcane secanics that we nuclear strategiests see, he doesn't believe are reasonable," says his top foreign policy staffer, James Steinberg. When looking at the calculations a policy staffer, James Steinberg. When looking at the calculations a politician rather than a nuclear theorist."

Dukakis will be less vulnerable than many previous Democratic nominees to the charge that he is too soft on the Soviets, partly because of Reagan's embrace of



Gorbachev in Red Square. Dukakis warns that the sight of Reagan "walking arm in arm" with Gorbachev should not obscure the fact that "we will continue to have fundamental differences with the Soviet Union." He is not starry-eyed about the promise of perestroika; change in the Soviet system, he says, is likely to be "evolu-tionary, not revolutionary." Dukakis believes that the U.S. should encourage Gorbachev's reforms because they involve shifting Soviet investment from military to domestic needs. Nevertheless, he endorses the concept, usually associated with hard-liners, known as linkage: improved trade and technology transfers should be tied to Soviet progress on emigration and human rights issues.

The most important distinction between Dukakis and Bush is over the rules that should govern America's commitments abroad. Ever since Viet Nam, Democratic Party activists have increasingly been drawn toward neoisolationism. as expressed by George McGovern's exhortation "Come home, America," while Republican activists have tended toward a unilateralist policy, symbolized by Reagan's call for America to "stand tall." Dukakis takes a third approach: he calls himself a "multilateralist." In other words, he portrays himself as part of the once dominant bipartisan consensus that favored asserting American influence through alliances, treaty organizations, economic partnerships and the United Nations, and in accordance with international law. His world view reflects his background as a lawyer who has a reformer's faith in legal and governmental processes

ush, who once served at the U.N. and thus knows whereof he speaks, will argue that Dukakis' faith in international law is naive. There is something quite unnerving, say Dukakis' critics, about the idea of a President who has actually read the Rio Treaty. A more serious argument against multilateralism is that it can degenerate into a de facto isolationism; in a dirty and dangerous world, the U.S. could be paralyzed if it flinched whenever its allies were reticent.

There are, however, some very pragmatic and hard-nosed arguments-in addition to the idealistic and gooey onesthat it is in America's national interest to base its foreign policy on cooperation among allies, deference to the desires of smaller friends and respect for treaties. The foremost reason: it works, or at least works better in the long run than does the swaggering alternative. Unilateral assertions of U.S. pressure have proved more likely to foster resentment about Yankee imperialism than to promote lasting influence. Nor does Washington always know best: its friends in Latin America have generally proved more adroit at dealing with troublesome neighbors such as Panama's Manuel Noriega and Nicaragua's Daniel Ortega.

Dukakis' multilateral outlook is most evident regarding Latin America. He often cites the summer of 1954, when he was living with a family in Peru at the time the CIA overthrew the left-leaning elected government of Guatemala. It was part of a pattern, he says. "Every time we intervened, we did so in the name of democra-

U.S. missiles: Opposes both Midgetman and a mobile MX. Discounts fears that land leg of triad is becoming vulnerable to a Soviet strike. Calls Star Wars a "fantasy and a fraud." U.S. submarines: Would permit continued research on the D5 Trident missile U.S. bombers: Favors continued development of the Stealth.

Soviet Union: "Our expectations must be tempered." Rights abuses and emigration restrictions offend his idealism Western Europe: Favors high-tech military buildup of NATO's conventional forces. Endorses long-standing policy of threatening "first use" of nuclear weapons if invaded. Eastern Europe: Wants a NATO strategy using economic and trade incentives to

encourage political change and more freedor

South Africa: Agreed to Jackson's demands

that it be labeled a "terrorist state" in the

business investments and an international

platform. Supports withdrawal of all U.S.

Japan: Wants Tokyo to pay more of the West's defense costs and increase aid to Africa and Latin America. Does not favor military buildup. South Korea: Originally threatened to reduce U.S. troops if rights abuses continued but backed away from stance.

Panama: Lambastes Bush for "making deals with drug thugs" like Manuel Noriega. Would coordinate anti-Noriega strategy with the Organization of American States Latin American debt: Favors easing debt burden so developing countries will not be drained of the resources they need for growth. Colombia: Says the grayest threat to the U.S. in Latin America is drugs, not Communism. Wants to target more foreign

aid to eradicate drug crops. Nicaragua: Adamantly opposes aid to contras but says U.S. would "reply firmly and forcefully to any serious military threat from the Soviet Union" there

continues on human rights

boycott Angola: Promises to recognize the Marxist El Salvador: Favors aid, as long as progress vernment and end aid to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels supported by South Africa.

Persian Gulf: Initially opposed U.S. Navy patrols but gave halfhearted support after West Europeans backed them Israel: Favors moving U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, as Israel wishes, despite city's disputed status. Supports direct Arab

Israeli negotiations. Blames Arabs for impasse. West Bank: Refuses to rule out Palestinian state as the outcome of negotiations but says limited autonomy for Palestinians is a more probable outcome.

cy. And almost without exception, the legacy of our intervention has been tyranny." The reasons: "We put ourselves above the law. We tried to go it alone. We 
tried to impose our views, instead of helping to build a democratic tradition."

Another basic element of Dukakis' world view is a moral sense that U.S. policy must be based on the "fundamental decency and values of the American peorather than on a hard-nosed, realpolitik approach to strategic interests. In this regard, he is reminiscent of Jimmy Carter, which could be a source of trouble. That is evident in Dukakis' emphasis on human rights in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and it underlies his vigorous opposition to Reagan's approach to southern Africa. Dukakis argues that the most important source of America's influence in the world, and of sustained domestic support for its foreign policy, is the belief that the nation is committed to freedom and social justice. To restore that faith, he believes that the U.S. must be unequivocal in its opposition to the South African regime. This, in turn, means ending support for the South African-backed rebels fighting the government in Angola. "We can't get the Cubans out of Angola by betraying our own values," he says.

On the Middle East, Dukakis has made pro-Israeli lobbies happy by promising to move the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem, an action that could gravely undermine U.S. leverage. At the same time, an action made them unhappy by the properties of the proper

wakakis has studied hard, learning the catechism of mainstream national security theology well. He can probably avoid the gaffes that make foreign policy such a treacherous topic in a campaign, and he seems confident when tossing out debate-sized sound bites. In addition, his high-minded world view is likely to play well if he can learn to articulate it in a more inspiring way; there has always been, for better or worse, a streak of global idealism in the American

The lingering question, however, is whether Dukskis can adapt his orderly and idealistic view to the grubby chaland idealistic view to the grubby chalseer U.S. interests even in those cases where it meant overriding the sensibilities of neighbors or allies? "Dukskis wouldn't sit twiddling his thumbs if he couldn't get a 14th vote in the Organization of Ameriary to do," insists Nye. "The guy is really a pragmatic politician."

Indeed, Dukakis' instincts on foreign policy reflect his political instincts in general. Above all, he is a straight arrow, a good-government reformer whose idealism on occasion comes perilously close to prissiness. He has always been a believer in process more than in ideology, of playing by the proper procedures. Soon after he first arrived in the Massachusetts statehouse, this outlook came crashing into reality: it took a resounding electoral defeat to turn him into a pragmatic politician. When it comes to dealing with the messy and murky challenges of the real world. he cannot count on getting such a second chance. -By Walter Isaacson

### **Frustrated**

But Jacqueline liked Kitty



Long before he was a presidential candidate, Jesse Jackson made a name for himself as an able negotiator. He knows instinctively

tor. He knows instinctively how to bluff and bargain, when to hold 'em and when to fold 'em.

At least, that is what Jackson would like everynote to think In fact, he has been coming up empty-handed of late. The platform and rules conceisions he has won from Michael Dukakis since June hardly matter very much. Jackson wanted to deliver the keynote speech or name an alternate. But Party Chairman Paul Kirk chose Texas Treasurer Ann Richards instead, causing Jackson to fume, quite rightly, that he at least deserved to be consulted before the choice was made.

Last week Jackson's plans to mount foot fights in Alanta over 13 minority platform plants backfired. Dukakis aides grew so exasperated with Jackson's continued demands for control of seats on the heavy lot Jackson's continued the plant of the plant of

This week Jackson seems headed for a self-propelled crash in his public quest for the vice-presidential nomination. Party leaders blanched when he started insisting on the slot, but Dukakis has played along coolly. The Governor invited Jackson over for a July 4th dinner and



Finding the right exit lines might be the biggest challenge of Jesse's campaign.

a fireworks-filled Boston Pops concert. Neither candidate left the holiday session satisfied. Dukakis failed to win an endorsement from Jackson that could have spelled unity before the Atlanta convention. Jackson left Brookline, Mass., without the job offer he'd been seeking for a month. Kitty Dukakis and Jacqueline Jackson hit it off well. "They both smoke behind their husbands' backs," said a friend of both. But relations between the husbands remained cool, Jackson pressed his views about the vice presidency and the need to expand the party's horizons. Dukakis barely acknowledged his rival's arguments, nodding politely but hardly seeming to hear.

Jackson is plainly needled by Dukakis' apparent bias toward older and less compelling public men, whom Jackson caustically regards as either in "semiretirement" or capable only of "gestures without very much importance." Jackson won't openly criticize a Dukakis-John Glenn ticket, but will say the ticket should be "one step in the present and one in the future, not one step in the present and one in the past."

Even more frustrating to Jackson is the possibility that the nomination might go to an also-ran who finished well behind him in the balloting: "I have more white votes than IRichard! Gephardt got before he dropped out." And aides mutter that the choice of Al Gore would set Jackson seething.

Such late-inning remarks won't make it any easier for Jackson to chart a graceful end game and earnestly endorse the eventual ticket. Finding the right exit lines may be the biggest challenge of Jesse Jackson's campaign. —By Michael Dutfy/Washington

### Nation

### Searching for Mr. Right

And now for the swimsuit competition



Clearinghouse. Michael Dukakis is casting such a wide net in his search for a running mate that any day now Democratic members of Congress may get a letter from Ed McMahon an-

nouncing, "Congratulations. You may already be a vice-presidential

nominee Despite the large number of contenders, the Governor is intent on keeping the process sober and thorough. There will be no Mondalelike press conferences at the end of the driveway: no skeletons left in the closet, as with McGovern's selection of Senator Thomas Eagleton: and no leaks. Aspirants have been asked to turn over everything but dental records to a claque of half a dozen aides who pore over the documents in isolation two floors above campaign headquarters in a red brick building on the fringe of Boston's Combat Zone. They are called the Manhattan Project

Depending on who is counting, there are about eight contenders now, give or take a reluctant Senator or two. Although interviewed by Dukakis and high on his wish list, Senators Bill Bradlev of New Jersey and Sam Nunn of Georgia have taken themselves out of the running. While Democrats seem to be content to take Nunn at his word, visions of a Bradley draft now excite Democrats almost as much as a Mario scenario did several months ago, though some think two Northeast-

erners on the ticket could be a fatal liability. Jesse Jackson is nominally on the list. largely because he has demanded to be there and has enough clout that he must be. Jackson is the only would-be to get star treatment. While the others interviewed were lucky to get a cup of coffee. Jackson was treated to the four basic food groups and an unassuming California Chablis. After the dinner-cum-interview, Jackson would only comment, "Balanced meal, well cooked.

The Boston Globe, which is giving the Veep race the kind of front-page, boxscore coverage usually reserved for the Red Sox, has anointed various candidates as leader of the pack; the most recent was Albert Gore. By all appearances, the Tennessee Senator would seem to have dis-

kis "very dangerous" and "irresponsible" description of Reagan's "voodoo econompostprimary endorsement to be invited to

qualified himself by his attacks during the New York primary when he called Dukaon nuclear arms issues-which could prove tougher to live down than Bush's ics." But Gore made nice enough in his

BENTSEN BRADLEY o oil-stained.



GLENN







Brookline for an interview. He helps in the Border States and the South, possibly even in California, where his futureoriented interests (fiber optics and the greenhouse effect) might make up for the entertainment industry's unhappiness with his wife's much publicized campaign against rock lyrics. The same day another former rival,

Richard Gephardt, was auditioned. The Missouri Congressman, winner of the Iowa caucuses, has the most appeal to the blue-collar vote. Gephardt has corrected his early campaign deficiencies, developing a strong populist message, a compelling delivery, and eyebrows. But unless he is willing to put his \$48,000 Hyundai on cinder blocks, it may be hard for him to reconcile his protectionist philosophy with Dukakis' belief in freer trade.

Ohio Senator John Glenn, the early favorite, has not held up well under scrutiny. With an uninspiring Senate record, \$2.4 million in unpaid 1984 campaign debts and less charisma than Dukakis, his appeal to the risk-averse Dukakis may be simply that the bland ex-astronaut could not hurt him, and he could help him win Ohio. Indiana Congressman Lee Hamilton emerged as a foreign policy heavyweight and Mr.

Integrity during the Iran-contra hearings. A lively presence Hamilton has never been, and he may not even be able to deliver his traditionally Republican home state

Lloyd Bentsen, campaigning with Dukakis in Texas last week, may have peaked as well. An oil-state millionaire remembered for his aborted \$10,000 breakfast club, the Senate Finance Committee chairman sets off special-interest alarms in some quarters. His claim to being the only Democrat to have beaten George Bush in Texas is a little long in the tooth (it happened in 1970), and his campaign style on display last week was stolid and uninspiring.

Senator Bob Graham is the only one on the list who has never had a real boomlet, perhaps because he tried too hard to create one by flogging polls showing he could carry Florida. His record of ordering more executions during his eight-year term than any other sitting Governor could offset Dukakis' soft-on-crime image. He is a master of the political gimmick-he performed 100 different jobs in 100 days during his 1978 gubernatorial campaign-with

potent Washington connections (he is the brother-in-law of Washington Post Board Chairman Katharine Graham). But with less than two years in the Senate. he brings little Washington or foreign policy experience to the ticket.

Despite his protestations, it could be hard for Bradley, who has the inside-Washington foreign and economic policy experience and star quality that Dukakis lacks, to spurn the call of his party, should it come. Pulled off the bench reluctantly, he can play the exciting savior. The main problem the 6-ft, 5-in, former New York Knicks forward would face is finding a way not to make the 5-ft. 8-in. Dukakis look like the point guard he once was. By Margaret B. Carlson. Reported by Michael Duffy/Washington and Michael Riley with Dukakis

### Nation

### The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

### Reagan on a Roller Coaster

t is still a standoff. The world is out to get Ronald Reagan's goat even in his last months as President. And Reagan is determined not to allow it.

On Sunday he was inngled awake in Camp David's Aspen Lodge at 4:52 a.m., even before the birds began to peep, and told that the Navy cruiser Vincennes may have shot down an Iranian F-14 in the Persian Gulf. By 8:11 a.m., he had a written message on reports that the downed plane may have been a civilian ariliner. At 9:52 a.m. there was a call suggesting there was something to the story that an Airbus had been blown out of the sky.

By early afternoon, Reagan was on a conference call flung from Catocini Mountain through Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia to his top people. The size of the tragedy was known by then. "I want a statement sent to Iran that we deeply regret this incident," he said simply. Later, when there was quibbling whether "regret" was an apology, Reagan ended the argument. Lake responsibility for I am concerned. We've a moral nation, and we

our mistakes."

The next day, Reagan marched on, out of the dreary duties of war and death to the bright star bursts of July 4th. More than 3,000 White House staff members and their families gathered on the White House lawn to watch the fireworks on the Mall. Reagan, in a tribute on his last Independence Day as President, spoke from the veranda of the White House. "Maybe when we say can pray that other



our prayers, maybe we Marching on: Bush and Reagan plot strategy last week

countries will have something to celebrate."

Within another 24 hours he was riding the roller coaster of emotions back down. He boarded the White House elevator to go to the lawn for a helicopter trip to Walter Reed Army Medical Center to visit El Salvador's President José Napoleno Duarte, gravely ill with cancer. On the elevator he was told that Attorney General Edwim Meese was calling. Reagan ducked into the White House he said, "Italked to you earlier about resigning. Now is the time! Abould do it."

The last of the hard conservative core was going to leave his side. Reagan had been tipped off by Meese that he would probably not stay until the end of the term. But the President did not know Meese would act just then. Reagan did not protest. "Well, Ed," said Reagan, "if that's your decision ..." Little else was said.

Then the President headed to the bedside of Duarte, the first and most successful of his Central American "freedom fighters." Reagan offered to fly him back to El Salvador and urged Duarte to come by the White House to see him if he was able. It was a sad parting.

No mood clings long to Reagan. Perhaps that is the secret of his durability in the presidency. By Thursday he was with Candidate George Bush and their respective political teams in a powowo in the White House Family Dining Room. The juices of one of the most successful campaigners of modern times were plainly undiminished by the week's grim tidinas.

"The press is not going to give your whole argument," Reagan told the Vice President. "Every time I go out now and later turn on the television to watch, they have me saying 'Hello' and 'Goodbye,' and they have Sam Donaldson delivering my message. You've got to get some money and buy some TV and deliver your own message."

# Heading for An Override?

Senators okay a pro-labor bill

he legislation had not even come to a vote when Republican Senator Phil Gramm of Texas implored his colleagues to repeal it "in a future year." A future nonelection year, Gramm might have added. The Senate, a third of whose members must face the voters this year, was about to pass a broadly popular bill requiring plant owners to notify workers 60 days in advance of closings or wholesale layoffs. Despite Ronald Reagan's threatened veto, 19 Republicans joined 53 Democrats to forge a 72-to-23 victory. With that lopsided vote, the bill's supporters can easily override a presidential veto-if it comes.

And it may not come. Urged on by many businessmen, Reagan last May vetoed an omnibus trade bill because it contained the notification provision. Overridden in the House, the veto was sustained by a precarious five-vote margin in the Senate. The Democrats, emboldened by polls indicating that 82% of voters favored advance notification, continued to push for the measure. The bill's sponsors cited a 1985 study by the Bureau of Labor Statistics showing that more than half of the 2.2 million workers involved in largescale layoffs each year received one day's notice or less before being thrown out of work. Had the law been in effect over the past two years, said its backers, more than 1.6 million laid-off workers would have received advance word. Said Robert Byrd, the Senate Democratic leader: "It's not a labor issue. It's a fairness issue

Above all, it was a political issue. Reagan's eto allowed the Democrats to remind voters that they are the party of the workingman. Their strategy, separate the trade bill (which both business and labor want) from the plant-closing provision, virtually daring Republicans to vote against the latter. Chortled a Democratic aide: "We win either way. The working stiff gets his notification, or we have one hell of an issue right through to November."

Happily faced with a no-lose situstion. Byrd, who sponsored the bill along with Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio and Edward Kennody of Massachusetts, repeatedly turned back Republican pleas for compromise. Once armed with the votes, they handily defeated an amendment that would have exempted layoffs, as opposed to outright plant closings. from the 60-day notification requirement.

The bill seems sure to pass the heavily Democratic House, perhaps as early as this week. If Reagan vetoes it in the face of all but certain overrides in both House and Senate, he could unwittingly contribute to a cause that is most repellent to him: electing Democrats.

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### **American Notes**



CHICAGO Sprucing up a dingy city landmark

DISASTER A building comes tumbling down

CONGRESS

### **Saving Fort** Pork Barrel

Not for a dozen years has the Pentagon been able to close a major military base, even though some of the installations it operates-at a cost of billions to the taxpayers-were built to help fend off marauding Indians or troublemaking Redcoats. The reason? Not Pentagon profligacy, for once, but political pork.

Whenever the military moves to shutter a base, the member of Congress in whose district it is located rises in righteous indignation. Given the you-scratch-my-backand-I'll-scratch-yours philosophy that reigns on Capitol Hill, even such an anachronism as Virginia's moat-encircled Fort Monroe-built for the War of 1812-has been spared, although it costs \$186 million a year and serves no useful military purpose

Last week the House of Representatives took up a bill providing for a six-member Pentagon-appointed commission to decide which bases to close. The commission was intended to shield the politicians from risking votes by wielding the ax themselves. But after hours of debate.

the House could not decide whether Congress should reserve to itself the right to approve the commission's list of bases or just the right to reject it. Apparently paralyzed by this weighty question of national defense, the House recessed for the weekend without taking action.

DISASTER

### Crushing Deluge

In bone-dry Brownsville, Texas, the rain came fast and furious. sending pedestrians scurrying for protection. Dozens took shelter at La Tienda Amigo, a retail mart near the bridge to Matamoros. Mexico, across the Rio Grande. Downpour turned to deluge, dumping two inches of rain in 30 minutes-apparently enough to collapse the structure housing the store into a murderous heap of concrete and metal. Dozens of people were crushed or trapped in the rubble. One wall tumbled outward, killing a woman sitting in a car parked in front of the store. Anthony Padilla, a photographer for the Brownsville Herald, witnessed the scene from across the street. "The entire storefront, the windows just exploded out." he said. "People just covered their heads, kind of ducked down, and in the next instant the whole thing came down. People I had been looking at were covered with

As relatives and friends waited anxiously, rescuers with a crane, tractors and bare hands toiled through Thursday night, using dogs and sensitive microphones to locate buried survivors. By the weekend it appeared that about 25 people had been in the store at the time of the cave-in. The toll, including passersby: 14 dead, 47 injured.

IMMIGRATION

### Refugees Need Not Apply

For years, the most difficult hurdle for Soviet citizens seeking asylum in the U.S. was obtaining their own government's permission to emigrate. Now thousands of would-be refugees who have been granted precious exit documents are facing an unexpected obstacle. Last week the U.S. embassy in Moscow announced that it has exhausted its entire 1988 budget for resettling Soviets and would process no more refugee visas until Oct. 1.

Hardest hit are thousands of Soviet Armenians, who have swelled the emigrant ranks in recent months. In June alone the embassy issued 2.000 refugee visas, more than the total for all 1987. Many Armenians who were planning to leave the U.S.S.R. in a few weeks risk having their Soviet exit visas expire before the U.S. again opens its doors. Said a distraught emigrant: "We moved out of our apartments and quit

our jobs." State Department officials insist that the situation is only temporary and that much of the problem could be resolved if the Soviets would extend the

exit visas. Still, the red-tape tangle was more than a little ironic, coming just one month after Ronald Reagan publicly blamed the Soviet bureaucracy for impeding the flow of emigrants to the West.

CHICAGO

### Draping an Old Evesore

In a city attuned to architectural splendors and niceties, the squat, graceless Chicago Sun-Times Building, resembling an aluminum-and-marble houseboat run aground, has long struck its beholders as an eyesore. Suddenly it has become the visual star of the Windy Cityscape. Deciding that the structure would be a good backdrop for his latest creation, titled Bess' Sunrise. Textile Artist Maya Romanoff adorned the building with 28 brightly colored canvas strips, each 6 ft. wide and 120 ft. long. Suspended from the seventh-floor terrace and hanging down to the edge of the Chicago River, the work offers a billowing spectacle of warm yellow-oranges and

Many Chicagoans have urged that the work be left up permanently instead of the planned two weeks. It has cheered passersby and even improved the morale of people inside the unloved building. Said Sun-Times Spokesman Mike Soll: "Dressing it up is a welcome relief."

radiant blue-greens.

# **Too Close For Comfort**

### A shaken P.R.I. claims victory

wive hours after the 54,641 polling stations closed and three hours after the first results were expected, the Interior Ministry in Mexico City announced that its new computerized tabulating system was not working. Despite the absence of official returns, the three major campaign organizations had plenty to say last week. The ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (P.R.I.) proclaimed that its candidate. Carlos Salinas de Gortari, had won a "crushing, indisputable, unobjectionable victory" in his race for the presidency. The coalition of leftist parties backing Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas claimed that its man was ahead with 39% of the vote, and charged that the P.R.I. had faked the computer breakdown in order to steal enough votes to offset the actual returns. Manuel Clouthier, candidate of the rightist National Action Party, called last Wednesday's vote "the most barbaric fraud in the history of Mexico.

Even without any official returns, there was little question that one way or another, the P.R.I. would emerge on top. But never had a Mexican presidential election been quite so contentious or fraught with emotion. Since the P.R.I. first came to power in 1929, it has won every presidential election with at least 70% of

the vote. Yet even the P.R.I.'s own early returns last week suggested a shattering rejection by voters tired of the party's monolithic rule and its inability to solve Mexico's economic problems. While some party regulars described the election as a triumph, the winning candidate was more conciliatory. "We've reached the end of having, in effect, a single party," Salinas declared on Thurs-day, "We've entered a new political era with a majority party and a very intensely competitive opposition.

Salinas' admission reflected the depth of the P.R.I.'s post-election anxiety; in fact, he had spent a sleepless election night arguing with advisers over how to handle the disaster in progress. By Friday, those

when official returns were released by the Federal Electoral Commission on Sunday, they would show Salinas triumphant with between 49% and 54% of the vote. Significantly, they conceded that Cárdenas had won in several P.R.I. strongholds, including Mexico City. They also said that while the P.R.I. will retain a majority of seats in the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, it could fall short of the twothirds plurality required to make constitutional changes, a mechanism routinely used to create laws. Privately, Salinas aides say their boss plans to use the dramatically lower turnout to drive home to the party old guard the need for change.

Before the voting stations had even closed, charges of fraud swept through several of Mexico's 31 states. By midnight, Cárdenas and Clouthier had issued a statement accusing the government of rigging the elections. Citing instances of stuffed ballot boxes, altered registration lists and multiple voting, they complained that such practices "seriously affect the cleanliness of today's balloting," and hinted that they might seek to have the results voided and a new election called.

Although the outcome of the vote was never seriously in question, opponents on both the left and the right challenged the



close to Salinas were saving that Cárdenas, right, at the funeral of his slain aide



ruling party. By denouncing the P.R.I.'s authoritarian ways and its wellestablished reputation for election fraud, the opposition forced Salinas into a corner. Political commentators warned that the ruling party had to win by a margin large enough to establish Salinas' authority and credibility but not so large as to trigger charges of fraud. As confusion over the vote mounted, it became evident that while the P.R.I. had gained the presidency, the days of one-party rule were numbered. "This country," predicted

Mexican Political Scientist Jorge Castañeda, "will never be the

Much of the credit for the turnabout goes to Cárdenas. A former P.R.I. governor, he was expelled from the party last fall after he challenged the process of selecting the presidential candidate. Embraced by four leftist parties, Cárdenas, 54. the son of a revered former President, began touring the countryside in a donated van. As he spread his heavily nationalist message and hinted that he favored suspending interest payments on Mexico's \$103 billion foreign debt, peasants, students, intellectuals and members of the middle class rallied to his

Four days before the vote, one of



#### "We Will Enter a New Era"

In an interview late last week with TIME Correspondent John Moody and Reporters Andrea Dabrowski and Rodman Griffin. Carlos Salinas de Gortari left no doubt that the final fixures would cement his claim to the presidency. Excerpts:

On the P.R.l.'s premature claims to victory. The different parties agreed that we could not provide figures until the Federal Electoral Commission provided them. Nevertheless, [the P.R.l.] had a very sophisticated system of information connected to all districts. I wouldn't have claimed victory without [that] information.

On the failure of the computerized tabulating system. It's more than a computer problem, because (the P.R.J.) had a computer system, and it worked very well. There were more than 54,000 csailus vioting booths), some of them in rural areas. Also, because of the tremendous flood of voters, some castllas did not close at 6 p.m. but stawed onen fleeally bit no refer to allow those in line to vote.

On the end of the one-party system. In the past I the P.R.L. won presidential elections with two-thirds or flour-fifths of the vote, all seats in the Chamber of Deputies, all seats in the Senate. Today we will enter a new era. [We] will have to reform our procedures of campaigning and organization, because we will face stiffer opposition. We! I have to live with a pluralistic Chamber of Deputies and Senate.

On reforming the P.R.I. The party is working hard to make the transformation that Mexican reality demands. The party's own transformation will take place at the proper time, by the members of the party, to strengthen the party.

On the priorities of the Salinas administration. First, to participate in the enormous transformation that is going on in the world. There's a realignment of financial, commercial, economic and political relationships. Second, to recognize, then promote advances in our democratic life. Third, a war on poverty in Mexico. The fourth is a new development strategy that calls for recovering growth.

### The future in his hands: Salinas ends his campaign with a huge rally in the capital

Cárdenas' strategists, Francisco Javier Ovando Hernández, was shot to death in his car in the capital, along with Ovando's private secretary, Román Gil Heraldez. Cárdenas promptly denounced the killings as political assassinations. In an angry letter to President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, Cárdenas warned that the "responsibility will be yours" for any acts of terrorism against the opposition. If the tragedy enhanced the messianic aura that surrounded Cárdenas' campaign, it amounted to a disaster for Salinas. Though even Cárdenas did not directly accuse the P.R.I. of complicity in the crime, many Mexicans expressed skepticism about the police statement that Ovando had probably been gunned down by criminals he had prosecuted while attorney general in the state of Michoacán.

Salinas, a 40-year-old economist with a doctoral degree from Harvard, campaigned on a platform of reform, promising political and economic modernization. As he stumped the country for eight months, he sounded the themes of pluralism and democracy, staking his reputation on a clean contest. While no candidate charged that Salinas condoned or contest. While no candidate charged that Salinas condoned or contest. While no candidate charged that Salinas condoned or contest. While no candidate charged that Salinas condoned or contest. While no candidate charged that Salinas condoned or contest. While the contest of the

The charges quickly became the centerpiece of the postelectoral furor. In Agualeguas, a small town just 25 miles south of the Rio Grande, P.R.I. officials claimed 3,379 votes for Salinas, but reporters from the Monterrey-based newspaper El Norte who had been monitoring the balloting claimed that only one-third that number had turned out to vote. In the barrio of Colonia Pancho Villa, a brawl broke out after the polls closed when P.R.I. officials physically ejected opposition representatives who were supposed to observe the ballot count. Elsewhere, there were charges that "galloping brigades" of up to 80 people had charged polling stations to stuff ballot boxes. Some poll watchers claimed that the indelible ink applied to each voter's right thumb was washable, allowing for multiple voting.

When he begins his six-year term on Dec. 1. Salinas will have to navigate carefully between the demands of the P.R.I. old guard to maintain the party's hegemony and his own vision of a more democratic future. Throughout the campaign, there were indications that many P.R.I. stalwarts intended to fight any attempt by Salinas to open the system to a vigorous exchange of ideas. Much like the Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev, Salinas knows that political liberalization is imperative if he is to succeed in restructuring a debt-ridden, slow-growth economy. But before Salinas can begin, he will have to convince Mexicans that the job is rightfully his. By Jill Smolowe.

Reported by Andrea Dabrowski and John Moody/ Mexico City





Solitary vigil: a Soviet guard stands watch on the frontier between the Siberian town of Zabaikalsk and Manzhouli in Inner Mongolia

DIPLOMACY

# **Swords into Sample Cases**

On the heavily armed Sino-Soviet border, tension is giving way to trade

Twenty years ago next March, China and the Soviet Union appeared to be on the brink of war after a series of skirmishes along their border. After nearly two decades of recurring tensions, rande has broken out across that 450-mile printer—a new approximents between the row Communist giants. The U.S. is following these developments with considerable inter-its historic opening to China in the wake of the historic opening to China in the wake of the Mills of the China that here rower than the control of the control

Last week seven American foreign policy specialists completed a rare visit along both sides of the still heavily fortified Sino-Soviet frontier. The two-week try was organized by the New York City-based National Committee on U.S.-China Relations. The delegation was led by former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Arthur Hartman and former U.S. Army Chief of Staff General John Wickham The only journalist in the group was TIME Washington Bureau Chief Strobe Talbot, who filed this report:

Mudanjiang remains ready for war. The military airfield outside this northeastern Chinese industrial city of 600,000 lifts security restrictions just long enough

for a twin-engine prop plane from Beijing to deposit its passengers. They are whisked past the barracks of a People's Liberation Army (P.L.A.) unit. It is shortly before sundown, and troops are playing soccer, basefetall, Ping-Pong and openair billiards on the edge of the runway, not far from a wing of 70 Chinese-built Mid-far from a wing of 70 Chinese-built Mid-far from a wing of 70 Chinese to the play of the

The mayor of Mudanjiang, Wang Shubin, wants to talk not about the soldiers but about local merchants, who have their own interest these days in the Soviet Union. Beijing and Moscow have authorized the Chinese province of Heilong-jiang and the Soviet Union's Martitude and the Soviet Union's Martitude and the Soviet Union's Martitude and the Soviet Officials travel back and forth, comparing wish lists, displaying wares and negotiating lists, displaying wares and negotiating



barter deals. Since both countries have nonconvertible currencies and neither wants to expend precious reserves of hard currency, no money changes hands. The Chinese supply vegetables, prefabricated plastic greenhouses and textiles; the Soviets send back cement, seafood. fertilizer, pharmaceuticals and electrical machinery.

Almost all the traffic is by rail, along a line that Czarist Russia helped build in the late 19th century from Harbin, the capital of Heilongjiang, to the Pacific port city of Vladivostok, more than 300 miles to the southeast. The principal bordercrossing point for the region is Suifenhe, five hours by the daily milk train from Mudanjiang, near the Ussuri River, scene of some of the fiercest fighting in 1969. Here too there are plenty of reminders of potential trouble. Green military staff cars dart about the streets, their horns

blowing at pedestrians and the occasional horse-drawn cart to make room for P.I.A. officers on their way to the regimental headquarters of the specially trained border troops garrisoned on the outskirts of town. On a nearby hilltop are a high-frequency radio tower for combat communications and an earlywarning radar that would help alert the MiGs in Mudanjiang to scramble in the event of a Soviet attack

Today that possibility seems increasingly remote. Since last October, Suifenhe has conducted more than \$130,000 worth of commerce with the nearest Soviet settlement, Pogranichny. "We think that city-to-city trade will help politically," says Deputy Mayor Li Baozhong. "It definitely benefits our people, who welcome a market for their goods and need

the things we get from the Russians in return." Suifenhe is building a five-story international trade center in its main square to accommodate an expected increase in the barter transactions. With an eye to export, the town brewery puts Russianlanguage labels on its Seagull crab-apple juice and Polar Bear beer

A small number of Soviets in Suifenhe help manage the rail traffic. Vladimir Dudin, 38, lives for days, sometimes weeks, at a time in a converted refrigerator car on a siding at the Suifenhe train station. He has a tiny black-and-white television that is not powerful enough to pick up Soviet broadcasts; he has to settle for such fare as the U.S.-made series Little House on the Prairie dubbed in Chinese

Officials on both sides agree that the volume of trade along the border has always been inversely proportional to the degree of military tension. Recently "both sides have been trying to improve condi-" says Zhao Zhonghuan, deputy chief of staff for the Heilongijang Provincial Command. "The Soviets seem to have withdrawn their forces somewhat. They've also cut back on the amount of time that their helicopters are operating along the border. In the past, their aircraft have violated our airspace, and we've lodged formal protests, but there have been no penetrations this year." One of his Soviet counterparts, General Oleg Ilin. confirms that view. "We have reduced our strength in this region and ceased all training maneuvers on the border," he says. Ilin is the No. 2 political officer, or commissar, attached to the Far Eastern military district, which has its headquarters near Khabarovsk, on the banks of the Amur River, another stretch of contested border

In the 1970s Mao Zedong ordered the urban populations of northern China to "dig tunnels deep and store grain everywhere" in preparation for Soviet nuclear

Brink of war: a 1969 clash between troops of the two Communist giants

Today a sales-minded Chinese town puts Russian-language labels on beer.

strikes. Now the vast network of tunnels beneath the streets of Harbin is being converted into a subway. Other shelters are already serving as underground hotels and shopping centers. In the meantime, citizens of Khabarovsk pour hot water for their tea not only from traditional Russian samovars but also from colorfully decorated thermos bottles imported from China. Plans are under way for a Chinese restaurant, staffed and supplied from across the river, to open later this

Up the Amur, at Blagoveshchensk, officials are negotiating a deal under which Soviet hydroelectric power will be exchanged for Chinese goods and produce. In April 76 Chinese peasants, accompanied by interpreters, crossed the border at Suifenhe to spend six months demonstrating to Siberian farmers their techniques for planting, growing and harvesting. The Chinese were greeted with a brass band and welcoming banners when they arrived in Pogranichny. The Inner Mongolian town of Manzhouli is talking about a similar arrangement with Zabaikalsk, just over the strip of border that is still patrolled by Soviet guard dogs and marked by watchtowers and electrified fences. Says Manzhouli Mayor Xu Shaoan: "Our Soviet neighbors would like to learn to produce melons the way we do here.

There is another product in high demand but short supply on the Soviet side these days, thanks to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's antialcohol campaign. As a result, Chinese traders make room in their sample cases for bottles of mao-tai, a fiery 120-proof sorghum liquor-not to sell but to lubricate negotiations with their Siberian hosts. Says Dimitri Krolov, a Soviet regional trade official who joined the train in Zabaikalsk: "Business is booming. We manufacture what they want, they grow what we want.

Chinese agriculture has benefited dramatically from ten years of Leader Deng Xiaoping's "modernization program. Beijing has abolished the commune system in favor of individual and family farming, and has introduced incentives for high productivity as well as a limited but thriving free market for produce. By contrast, Soviet agriculture is still mostly collectivized, centrally planned and inefficient. It is one sector of Soviet life largely untouched by Gorbachev's

perestroika (restructuring). The priority on domestic economic reform in both countries is the principal reason for the improvement in Sino-Soviet relations. Both Deng and Gorbachev are looking for a peaceful international climate that will make it easier for them to divert resources to the industrial, agricultural and consumer sec-

declared willingness to rely less on the threat or use of force in Soviet foreign policy. Says General Wang Zhenxi, deputy director of foreign-army studies of the Chinese Military Science Academy in Beijing: "Should Gorbachev's domestic reforms be successful, it would be helpful for world peace and stability." he quickly adds, "so far we've seen nothing to demonstrate that the Soviet Union has abandoned its strategic goal of hegemony.

tors. The Chinese welcome Gorbachev's

"Hegemony" is the Chinese catchall word that denotes the U.S.S.R.'s penchant, especially during the 1970s, for throwing its military weight around in the world. The principal examples-what Chinese officials call the Three Obstacles to normalization of relations between the two countries-are the Soviet Union's deployment of more than 50 divisions along the Chinese northern border, its occupation of Afghanistan and its support for

#### World

Viet Nam's occupation of Kampuchea. Gorbachev, who is eager to hold a summit with the 83-year-old Deng, has been making, or at least hinting at, concessions on all three issues. Last year the Kremlin removed one division from the Mongolian People's Republic, a Soviet satellite on China's border. In May Moscow began bringing its forces home from Afghanistan. The Soviets have also been nudging Hanoi to withdraw from Kampuchea.

Chinese officials, especially those in the military, remain skeptical. General Jiang Hongji, a retired divisional commander and former military attaché in Moscow, says the Soviet pullback "doesn't count for too much in a military sense,' since the division that was withdrawn could return on short notice. General Chai Chengwen, first deputy chairman of the Beijing Institute for International

Strategic Studies (BIISS), a think tank connected with the National Defense Ministry, says, "The Soviet Union is looking for excuses to delay its withdrawal from Afghanistan." From Deng on down, Chinese spokesmen say that Kampuchea, still occupied by Moscow's Vietnamese allies, remains the main obstacle.

onetheless, General Chai predicts that "if the Soviets continue their domestic reforms and accompanying adjustments in foreign policy, eventually the Three Obstacles will be eliminated and Sino-Soviet relations will be normalized." That could mean he says, not only a Deng-Gorbachev summit but an exchange of high-level military visits as well. Americans, he adds, should not be alarmed: "For Sino-Soviet relations to be transformed into a more moderate and relaxed state would benefit all humanity.

Cheng Feng, a strategic-affairs expert at BIISS, offers similar reassurances. "You Americans seem to think that Sino-Soviet normalization would be a kind of hell for you, that it's a terrible beast lurking out there in the future," he says. "You shouldn't worry. We've had several hundred years' experience with the Russians. You can rest assured that we will be realistic in our dealing with them now.

Meanwhile, the view from Red Square is optimistic. A foreign policy official of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee predicts that Gorbachev will visit Beijing by 1990: "Two years to remove the two remaining obstacles-that is a challenge for us, but one we can meet." If so, traveling salesmen will have paved the way for the General Secretary.

## **Cleaning Up the Confetti**

Gorbachev moves to put party-conference reforms into action

Like the host of any suc-cessful bash that at times came close to getting out of hand, the Soviet Union spent last week dealing with the confettiliteral and symbolic-generated by its just ended 19th All-Union Communist Party Conference. Moscow street workers pulled down the festive red bunting and banners that had decorated the Soviet capital during the conference's four days of extraordinarily open debates and disputes. More substantively, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev convened the 13 voting members of the ruling Politburo, who in turn scheduled a

SOVIET UNION

plenum of the 307-member policymaking Central Committee for later this month. Its purpose, declared the Polit-buro, would be "to discuss questions concerning the practical realizations of measures noted in the conference documents.

One sign of the intense popular interest in the conference came with the publication of its six final resolutions in Pravda, which caused a run on copies of the party daily in Moscow. The resolutions contained virtually all the political reforms Gorbachev had sought, including the creation of a stronger President (probably himself), a limit of two consecutive five-year terms for party and state officials, an invigorated system of soviets (local councils) as the basic units of local government, and a greater separation of party and state. Somewhat confusingly,

Gorbachev. Now More Than Ever: It's Morning THIS IS OK. BUT HE in Russia BETTER NOT WANT A GOUTE PRESIDENT

> the resolutions call for local party first secretaries to be nominated as chairmen of the soviets in most cases, a much debated provision that Gorbachev backed

The cautiously favorable reaction to the conference in the West tended to view the General Secretary as the event's big winner. "Gorbachev has proved to be an outstanding political tactician," said Eberhard Schulz, a specialist on Soviet affairs at West Germany's Foreign Policy Research Institute. "When it became evident in January 1987 that the Central Committee would not accept some of his changes, he stepped back and organized a party conference to get them through." Even so, most analysts warned that Gorbachev's success in winning institutional reform only underscored the largely unmet challenges of economic perestroika (restructuring). The conference featured

several speeches by delegates complaining about the inadequacy of food supplies and the poor quality of housing under the present system.

The resolution dealing with ethnic

rivalries turned out to be one of the conference's more vaguely worded statements. It called for both "greater independence" for regions and republics and for a strengthening of "our multinational state." That clearly did not go far enough to satisfy nationalists in Armenia, who have been agitating for months for the annexation

of Nagorno-Karabakh, a predominantly Armenian enclave in the neighboring republic of Azerbaijan. The conference had hardly ended when activists in Yerevan, the Armenian capital, resumed demonstrations that have occurred sporadically since last February I ast week a

crowd of nearly 2,000 massed at the city's airport, paralyzing the facility and causing the cancellation of 60 flights. In clashes with police, 36 of the protesters were

The Central Committee meeting later this month may set a formal schedule for putting into effect the conference reforms. Gorbachev has suggested that voters will choose a new 2,250-member Congress of People's Deputies as early as next April. Elections for local and regional legislatures will probably be held in late 1989. But Gorbachev clearly will not sit idle in the interim. Last week a U.S. State Department official suggested that a grand gesture may be forthcoming from Moscow in the near future: the unilateral withdrawal of the 65,000 Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. - By William R. Doerner.

Reported by John Kohan/Moscow

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DISASTER

### "Screaming Like a Banshee"

An exploding platform takes 166 lives in the North Sea

44T he first thing you do when you arrive on an offshore [oil] installation," the British author A. Abarez wrote in a book on the subject in 1986, "is arrange how to get off it again in an emergency." For the 227 men aboard the Piper Alpha oil platform in the North Sea last week, there was no time for such procedures.

Al 9-31 Wednesday evening, a piero, go outh alto one survivor described as "screaming like a banshee" — presumed to be a pressur/grad natural-gas leak—screeched through the 650-lh-ligh struce, whose four massive metal feet were anchored in the sea bottom 475 ft. below the surface. Seconds later an explosion ripped the rig in two, enveloping it in a ball of flame and smoke. Miraculously, 63 crewms, the misro single with the structure of the stru

Those who survived had a nightmanish choice: to jump as far as 150 ft. down into a flery sea or face certain death of the disintegrating rig, located 120 miles bloody horrific," said Derek Ellington, 43, a rigger. "Two-thirds of that platform melted with the heat and disappeared." Recalling the scene from a hospital in the Scottishi city of Aberteen, Andy Mochaic to was fry or jump, so I jumped."

He was one of the lucky ones, able to react quickly, most of those who were sleeping or relaxing in their cabins had no chance at all. Rigger Tony Sinnett, 34, watched in horror from a rescue craft after his escape. "It was as if the platform had been hit by an atom bomb," he said, been platform to be beliepfer codes, "who seemed to be waving. But then the deck keeled over, and the men disappeared."

Emergency precautions were of no use. There were lifeboats about the rig, but there was no time to use them. An emergency-support vessel, the Tharos, was permanently anchored nearby to was permanently anchored nearby to make the properties of the

The rig, which produced 140,000 bbl. of crude a day, along with natural gas, had been in operation since 1976 and was one



Flames pour from the burning Piper Alpha a day after the tragedy: some workers had the choice of jumping 150 ft. into a fiery sea or facing certain death aboard the disintegrating rig

of the oldest of the 123 fixed platforms in the British exploration area of the North Sea. Some experts cited equipment failure or metal fatigue as possible causes of the disaster. One widely held view was that there had been a leak in the natural-gas compression apparatus and that ignition had occurred through some kind of mechanical failures.

The British government promised a thorough inquiry, as did the Piper Alpha's



A survivor arrives in Aberdeen by helicopter

owner, Los Angeles-based Occidental Petroleum Corp. After the accident, Occidental promptly shut down the pipeline that services Piper Alpha and five other platforms, thereby temporarily cutting British North Sea oil production by 12.9%. The losses in export earnings and tax revenues from Piper Alpha alone were expected to cost the British government at least \$1.2 billion a year, while the losses to insurance companies were likely to exceed \$1 billion. Occidental Chairman Armand Hammer promised a contribution of \$1.7 million to a Piper Alpha disaster fund and an indemnity of some \$170,000 to the family of each victim. At week's end more than 100 contract

workers who had been refurbishing three other British platforms left their jobs, out of concern for their safety. They knew that the Piper Alpha's crewmen had been given extensive training to help them cope with a disaster. But they also knew that the ill-fated workers on the demolished rig never had a chance to use what they had learned. —By William E. Smith. Reported by Arme Constable and telefen Glosson!. Gnotion

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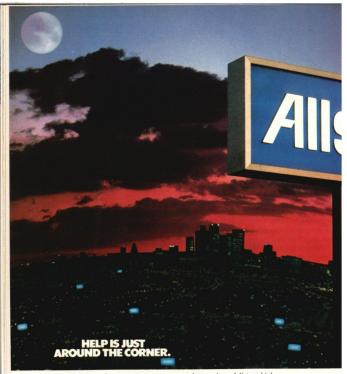
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#### World Notes



SOUTH KOREA Rohrelaxes



ISRAEL A real ABC camera crew in the West Bank



WEST GERMANY The hijacked TWA jetliner

#### YUGOSLAVIA

#### The Climate: Hot, Bothered

Proletarian tempers matched temperatures in Belgrade last week: both were hot, hot. for. For six hours, 5000 striking. For six hours, 5000 striking was been some six of the six hours of the six of t

The protesters moved to the headquarrers of the Communist-controlled trade-union confederation, where they chanted, "We want Krekie's head," That was a reference to Nenad Krekie', Yugoslavia's Minister for Foreign Trade, who later appeared and drew catealis by insisting that the catealis by assisting that the "worsen our prospects." No arrests were reported.

SOUTH KOREA

#### A Brotherly Hand

Ever since their country was divided at the end of World War II, reunification has been an emotive issue for all Kore-

ans. The problem became especially acute in South Korea last month, when a planned march by students to Panmunjom, on the dividing line, degenerated into clashes with police. Last week, in a nationally televised address, President Roh Tae Woo offered a sixpoint proposal to bring the two Koreas closer.

The plan, which envisions increased trade and diplomatic contacts and the reopening of mail service, won support from South Korea's three main opposition leaders. Even students, who plan another march on Aug. 15, conceded that the move was a belated first step toward reunification.

ISRAEL

#### Very Deep Background

After his family's house was blown up last month during the Israeli army's crackdown in the West Bank, suspected Palestinian Agitator Nizar Dakdouk agreed to discuss the incident with U.S. television newsmen. A film crew claiming to be from ABC News picked up Dakdouk, 18, ostensibly for an interview, but then drove him to jail instead. ABC last week alleged that the "crew" had been a team of impostors from Israel's Shin Bet internal security service.

ABC News President Roone Arledge sent a protest to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, charging that the masquerade presented "grave perils to the safety of legitimate journalists." Israeli officials refused to confirm ABC's account of the affair, but a spokesman for Shamir said the allegations would be investigated.

WEST GERMANY

## Terrorism on

Behind a bulletproof-glass partition in a Frankfurt prison courtroom. Lebanese-born Mohammed Ali Hammadi listened calmly last week as a prosecutor read the charges against him. Hammadi is accused of participating in the 1985 hijacking of a TWA Boeing 727 and the killing of U.S. Navy Diver Robert Stethem, 23, who was savagely beaten, shot in the head and then thrown onto the tarmac at Beirut airport. The Reagan Administration sought Hammadi's extradition after his arrest last year at Frankfurt airport, but Bonn refused, partly because of pressure by Shi'ite militants holding two West German hostages in Beirut.

Facing Hammadi last week were the slain man's par-ents, Richard and Patricia Stethem, who appeared as co-plaintiffs for themselves and six passengers. The couple's lawyer, Rainer Hamm, stressed that though the process was taking place in the "wrong country"—West Ger-

many rather than the U.S. their presence in court was a "symbol of trust ... toward the West German justice system." Hammadi entered no plea. His trial is expected to last at least a year.

TAIWAN

#### Getting Back On Track

When he died last January at age 77, President Chiang Ching-kuo, son of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was gingerly steering Taiwan toward democratic reforms and modestly improved relations with the People's Republic. The momentum slowed, however, under his successor, Lee Tenghui, who hesitated to move boldly before becoming chairman of the ruling Kuomintang, or Nationalist Party. Last week the 13th Party Congress bestowed that title on President Lee, 65, thus giving him the mandate to push for change

Lee, the first native Taiwanese to head the Kuomintang, is expected to reduce government intervention in the economy and continue an expansion of civil liberties in the wake of last year's end to martial law. Taiwan relaxed a ban on travel to the mainfand last year, but other major initiatives toward Beijing seem unlikely. Lee last week vowed to "make no compromise of any kind" with Beijing.

## **Economy & Business**

# All Hands on Deck!

As the jobless rate falls, companies confront growing labor shortages

cott Scarpato, vice president of Automatic Laundry Service in Newton, Mass., was in a desperate hurry to hire a new field-service worker to repair the equipment his company sells and leases. So he placed a help-wanted ad that offered plenty of come-ons: a starting wage of up to \$9 an hour, plus profit sharing, a pension plan and full medical coverage. After three weeks, the ad drew responses from only five people, none of whom was remotely qualified for the position. Says Scarpato: "One applicant had a severe drinking problem. Three could not speak or read English. And the last one wanted \$12 an hour, even though he had no experience." Three months later. Scarpato is still trying to fill the slot.

He is not alone. The U.S. economy's nearly six-year-old expansion has created so many new jobs (more than 15 million) that numerous companies cannot find people to extends from chambermaids to nurses' aides, cashiers to engineers. California amusement parks, Connecticut insurance conglomerates

and many others are scrambling to staff their operations any way they can. Employers are AUTOMOTIVE

boosting salaries, allowing flexible schedules, recruiting elderly workers and teaching English to recent immigrants. For the moment, the shortage has put no brake on the overall U.S. economy. But if the supply grows tighter MALE/FEMALE and forces employers to pay ever steeper wages, the situation could help spark a resurgence of

> Joblessness is at its lowest level since 1974. The Labor Department reported last week that the unemployment rate dropped to 5.3% in June, down from 5.6% the previous

month. Barry Bos-

worth, an economist

at the Brookings In-

stitution, thinks the

jobless level is approaching the threshold

at which it begins to spur wage and price increases. Says he: "I like an unemployment rate of 5.3%, but if it goes below 5%, then I would be concerned." Yet other economists think the work force can readily accommodate the scattered shortages. Says Beryl Sprinkel, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers: "We have a

rate: 2.7%) to Hawaii (2.9%) to North Carolina (3.4%). Not all state economies are so robust, of course. Unemployment in West Virginia stands at 9.7%, largely be-

cause of a loss of jobs in the coal industry and manufacturing. In Kentucky the rate is 8.6%. Yet almost everywhere, summer travel has brought a labor crunch in the

resort and recreation industries. Dishwashers, floor sweepers

and busboys have become as rare as teenagers in summer school. Says Cheryl Winters, manager of the Gwinnett County office of the Georgia department of labor: "There are essentially no domestic

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workers. They have gone with the wind." The situation is not expected to improve over last year, when a privately funded study of Cape Cod. Mass... companies reported a shortage of 14,000 chambermaids, short-order cooks, waiters, clerks and other entry-

The survey, conducted by a public agency, the Office for Job Partnerships, calculated that businesses lost \$48 million. This summer Cape Cod restaurants and motels are posting signs that read, 15-YEAR-OLDS WELCOME TO AP-PLY, an appeal that was unheard of just a few

years ago. Even professionals and salaried workers are hard to find. Elementary

school teachers, nurses and secretaries, long underpaid and underappreciated, are being wooed with much more favorable terms. At the same time, cyclical industries that have been

through dry spells during the past few years are coming back only to find their labor forces depleted. Many workers from the long-depressed oil-and-gas industry found new careers after they were laid off, and

Sales & Cashier Opportunities n you re a skier (or would like to be) Ski Town has the job for you! These full on lown has the jou for your mass rule in time sales and cashier positions are your licket to earnings of \$6/hour, meryour licret to earnings or sornour, mer-chandise discounts and more time on the slopes with a tree 5-day ski vaca-tion out west plus free sking at some of New England's largest ski areas. Experience for either position is help-Cyperience for entirer position is resp-ful but not necessary as we will train the right candidates. Part-time positions are also available. level workers in that area. Join a team of ski enthusiasta like yourselft Call or apply in person at one of these location.

flexible labor market. Individuals do move from areas of temporary

surplus into areas of so-called shortage. Demand for workers is most acute in New England, with a 3.3% rate of unemployment. In New Hampshire the

figure is 2.3%, the lowest in the U.S. The region's economy has been fueled by military contractors, who benefited from the defense buildup of the early 1980s, and by the small firms that have flourished in the high-tech corridor along Route 128, near Boston. The explosive expansion in the

demand for labor has far exceeded the region's growth in supply. In Massachusetts, for example, the number of jobs grew 11.6% between 1980 and 1986, while the population increased only 1.7%. Other shorthanded states range from

South Dakota (jobless





TIME, JULY 18, 1988

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business. Texas-based Zapata Gulf Marine, whose tugs supply offshore rigs, has been forced to lay up three of its 354 ships because it cannot find chief engineers to staff them

The main cause of the shortage is the baby bust. The low birthrates of the late 1960s and early 1970s mean that there are fewer teenagers and college-age students available today to take on the tedious service-industry tasks of chopping vegetables for salad bars, flipping hamburgers or feeding insurance claims into a computer. Twelve years ago,

when Bill and Sydna Zeliff bought their Christmas Farm Inn in Jackson, N.H., they could choose among six candidates for each opening. Now, says Sydna, "we hire almost anyone we can get.

Many employers see enough applicants, but far too few of them have the basic skills-reading. writing and arithmetic-to handle jobs in an economy that increasingly runs on technology and information. Scarpato, the laundry-machine vendor, contends that he encounters

high school graduates who sit down with a job application and ask what the word address means. Says Scarpato: "If they can't read, I can't train them to follow a wiring diagram and repair machinery."

Since manpower shortages can

IL US.

REO JOBS

odrucks

crimp a company's ability to grow, many businesses have started recruiting as actively as the Army or the Navy does. To attract engineers, Compag, a fast-expanding computer manufacturer has chosen the old-fashioned hard sell. For a three-day recruiting drive in Dallas, Compag sent invi-

tations to 3,000 engineers and blanketed the region with radio and print advertisements. To promote the company's picturesque headquarters, set in a forest in Houston, Compaq imported pine and sweet gum trees, along with park benches and lampposts. The price tag for the extravaganza: \$100,000.

Of course, higher wages are usually the simplest and most effective way to entice workers. Jobs that once

offered not a penny more than minimum wage-currently \$3.35 an hourthese days bring more than twice that sum. Servers at some Burger King outlets in Massachusetts start at \$8 an hour and receive raises of 25¢ an hour for every 90 days they work. Beyond that, they receive \$1 an hour toward child care and can buy discount memberships at local health clubs

Some economists believe most service companies, including fastfood chains and hotels, will be forced to raise wages over the next few years



Says Abel Feinstein, an economist at the Michigan Employment Security Commission: "There is no shortage of people to fill these service-sector jobs. If you increase wages and improve the working conditions, you won't have a shortage anymore.

Many businesses resist raising wages, fearing that the higher cost will put them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their competitors. But the minimum wage may be moving up. Congress is debating a bill that would increase the minimum 30¢ to 40¢ an hour each year for the next three years, bringing the rate to \$4.55 by 1991. Supporters of the legislation con-

tend that workers need the boost to keep up with rising prices, since the minimum wage has lost 22% of its purchasing power since

## The Secretary Shortage.

Come back to work with CDI Temporary Services. Flexit ork schedules from one to five days a week. Good pay and

fits. Immediate openings Call or come in today!

the last increase in 1981. Oppo nents, including business lobbyists, believe the hike will hurt labor-intensive enterprises and set off an inflationary spiral.

To sweeten offers, many employers supplement higher wages with such incentives as hiring bonuses, free trips and job training. Flexible schedules are increashad trouble finding enough students and other young people to fill its 16-hour-aweek schedules for baggers and clerks, so it

expanded the workweek for those jobs up to 32 hours, which can be arranged to the employee's liking. The purpose: to attract homemakers, retirees and other people looking for sup-

plemental income. Since many regions suffer from a geographical mismatch, in which unemployed vouths in inner cities are unable to reach affluent suburbs where workers are needed, some employers are hauling in their work force in buses and vans. Magic Mountain an amuse ment park 45 minutes north of Los Angeles, runs a bus

during the summer that carries teenagers to work from the Lincoln Heights neighborhood in Fast Los Angeles. Allstate Insurance

operates 54 van routes to bring 600 employees to its headquarters in the Chicago suburb of Northbrook from their homes as far away as southern

Wisconsin and northern Indiana. The routes, which go door to door, are changed whenever a new recruit needs a ride

Some firms look even farther afield and try to recruit workers outside their region. But often the chief obstacle to attracting new employees is the high cost of housing, so some potential employers have tried to compensate. An auto-parts division of Textron based in Dover, N.H., gives some of its new white-collar employees short-term "bridge" loans for housing at below-market interest





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rates. Last year the state's average home price was \$136,000, nearly 60% higher than the U.S. median.

The labor shortage provides an incentive for companies to retain the good employees they already have and move them up. Many employers are bolstering their training programs. At its Santa Ana, Calif., electronics division, ITT has conducted English-language classes for hundreds of its foreign-born employees, most of them Hispanic or Asian. The Travelers Companies, a Hartford, Conn., insurance

firm, conducts training programs in modern office skills and business English.

Among the ranks of new employees are a growing number of elderly workers. Messenger services in Los Angeles are using retirees for local deliveries, and Bullock's department store has been seeking older people to work as clerks. Many companies are also

turning to employees who are mentally retarded or emotionally disturbed but still capable of working with the help of close supervision. Lotus Development Corp., a computer-software firm, has some 120 such workers in its plant in Cambridge, Mass., packaging software for shipment.

The labor gaps are likely to persist through the 1990s. That prospect has helped spur Congress to move on a welfare-reform package that would require many recipients to go to work. The Senate last month passed such a bill by a vote of 93 to 3, and it will now go into a conference committee to be reconciled with an earlier House version. Encouraging welfare recipients to work has many compelling purposes, among them restoring pride and saving money, but the labor itself could be valuable as well. Said Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton in support of the measure: "The overriding concern is that we really don't have a person to waste in this country.

In the next few years, the rising costs of wages and benefits could force companies to charge more for their products. At this point, the labor shortage is still too scattered to create an overall inflation problem. But that is small consolation for business owners who are forced to turn away customers because they cannot find the workers they need. By Barbara Rudolph. Reported by Edward W. Desmond/New York and Shelagh Donoghue/Chicago

## Mr. C., the Skills Sergeant

A prime reason for the labor shortage is that legions of young job applicants are rejected for lack of skills. Not everywhere, however: when businesses in El Paso need trained workers, they know they can find them in an unlikely-looking place. Ringed with a barbed-wire fence and patrolled by guards, the white stucco compound alongside Interstate 10 could pass for a correctional institution. But the 440 blueuniformed trainees at the El Paso Job Corps Center are being nurtured, not punished. Since 1970 the center has taken in 8,000 barrio youths and returned them to the community a few months later as mechanics, cooks and nurse's aides

The success rate has been high. Fully 95% of the center's students complete a six-month term in one of eight vocational programs. Of those who graduate, 96% have been placed in jobs, and the vast majority stay employed for the long term. With that record, the El Paso center has ranked No. 1 for the past ten years among the 107 Job Corps units in the U.S. Declares Director David Carrasco: "The community is sold on us. We're turning out a proven product.

Nearly everyone gives the credit to Carrasco. A onetime Peace Corpsman and athletic

director at American University in Washington, the 68year-old."Mr. C.," as he is known, enforces a boot-camp regimen. He and his 23 instructors impose fines and extra chores on students who fail to keep their rooms clean or who litter the yards. The youths must stay on the eight-acre grounds except on weekends and Wednesday nights, when they are granted leave. They put in an eleven-hour day of training, academic instruction, physical exercise and cleanup. The youths train on the job for a month before graduating to positions that typically pay about \$4 an hour

The reform-school ambience is essential, Carrasco believes, because nearly all the trainees are dropouts (average

age: 17) and have been in scrapes with the law or have had trouble at home. But all sign up voluntarily, usually after repeatedly failing to get a job. They endure the regimen partly because of parental pressure, which Carrasco helps to generate by visiting his students' families at home. "We involve the parents at every turn," he explains. "We correct the notion that their children are 'our' responsibility. Hell, no. We have to work together.

Carrasco gives his charges plenty of incentives, including cash bonuses of \$25 to the Corps Member of the Month and \$15 for outstanding arts-and-crafts work. He encourages esprit-building projects: the trainees are refurbishing several old trolley cars to be operated as tourist attractions in El Paso. Alumni success stories serve as sources of inspiration.

After being hired as a switchboard operator, a young woman wrote the center saying "This check will make me the first in my family not to be eli-

gible for food stamps. When nothing else works, the intimidating presence of the 220-lb. Carrasco, a champion boxer in his college days, can make the difference. "He's a top sergeant, shouting 'This is your last chance! Without training, you're going nowhere! recalls Alumnus Car-

los Porras, now a tobacco salesman who owns a house complete with swimming pool. Carrasco, who grew up in

By Richard Woodbury/El Paso

the El Paso barrio, believes in well-rounded training. "We're teaching values: discipline and dependability. Employers want it. Do you know the worker-absentee rate in America on Monday mornings? It's terrible. Here, you answer the bell or pay for it. And kids leave feeling it was a privilege to be here." Agrees Eleuterio Tena, 32, now a welder in Boston: "They throw you out if you screw up. That's what makes it a beautiful program." Says Sister Bernice Juen, administrator of an El Paso nursing home that has hired 80 of the center's graduates: "They're dependable; they're thoroughly trained. They've had it drilled into



Carrasco's trainees in El Paso win trophies for their handiwork

#### **Business Notes**









JAPAN A scandal stings Takeshita

ADMETER

## Breaking the

For almost nine months following the Oct. 19, 1987, crash. U.S. financial markets failed to install any substantial safeguards to prevent a recurrence. The delay prompted calls for new regulations and frightened individual investors away from the stock market. Last week, in a surprising show of cooperation, the New York Stock Exchange and the Chicago Mercantile Exchange proposed safety measures in response to concerns raised by several Government studies of the crash.

The two exchanges, at which the simultaneous program trading of stocks in New York City and index futures in Chicago can create fearsome volatility, agreed to impose restrictions when prices begin falling out of control. One safeguard will be a "shock absorber." a half an hour price floor that will go into effect on the Standard & Poor's 500 index whenever it drops on the Merc by the equivalent of about 96 points on the Dow Jones average. Under even more stormy conditions, if the Dow drops 250 points, a "circuit breaker" would halt trading for one hour on both the Big Board and in the Merc's S&P futures pit.

As a separate measure, the New York exchange announced plans for an "express lane" to expedite the trades of individual investors on heavy selling days. The new proposals will require approval by the Government's securities and futures regulators.

ELECTRONICS

#### The Dual VCR On Pause

Of the 13 million video-cassette recorders sold in the US. last year, not one was built by an American manufacturer. Now a small Arizona company, Go-Video, has launched a battle to change that. Go-Video's design for a dual-deck VCR, which won US: patent approval last month, contains two recorders side by side. It would enable users to copy tapes, edit them or tape one program while watching another on while watching another on

Go-Video's machine (price: \$700) would be the only such VCR on the market. But the company claims its plan has been thwarted by a conspiracy of Japanese and South Korean electronics giants, which have refused to sell the company VCR parts it needs. Go-Video also blames Hollywood studios, which regard dual-deck machines as tools for pirating movies and which have allegedly pressured foreign VCRmakers to keep them off the market. Go-Video has named dozens of film and electronics companies in a lawsuit that is expected to go to trial next year. The firm hopes to collect \$1.5 billion in damages.

LADA

#### How to Make Pals with Pols

The Japanese call it kinkenseiji, or money politics-the widespread if sleazy practice in which businessmen curry favor with politicians by giving them insider stock tips or cozy deals. Last week the biggest such scandal in years rocked Japan after the daily Asahi Shimbun disclosed a list of 76 political staffers, journalists and others who allegedly earned millions of dollars investing in the stock of a fastgrowing real estate company called Recruit Cosmos. On the list were top members of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (L.D.P.), including aides to both Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita and his predecessor, Yasuhiro Nakasone

Recruit Cosmos acknowledged that it offered discounted shares of its stock to the well-placed investors in 1984, two years before the company went public. The stock's price soared as soon as it went on the market, enabling the early investors to reap large profits. Under Japanese law the practible deals struck many, Japanese as highly unethical.

The uproar prompted the resignations of Hiromasa Ezoe, chairman of Recruit's parent company, and Ko Morita, president of the leading financial daily, Nihon Keizai Shimbun; who admitted that

he too was a beneficiary. The biggest fallout for the L.D.P. could come later this summer in parliament, where Takeshita's proposal for tax reform is likely to face an emboldened opposition.

INDICTMENTS

## A Little Too Clever?

James Sherwin, vice chairman of GAF, is a chess master who delights in plotting diversions to fool his opponents. Now Sherwin, 54, stands accused of using such tactics to dupe investors. Last week a federal grand jury in Manhattan indicted Sherwin and GAF, a New Jersey-based chemical and building-products manufacturer, on criminal fraud and conspiracy charges for allegedly manipulating the price of Union Carbide stock. GAF and Sherwin are the latest target of investigations growing out of the Ivan Boesky insider-trading probe.

The crime allegedly occurred in late 1986, when GAF had built up a 10% stake in Union Carbide in a failed takeover bid. Sherwin allegedly persuaded Jeffries & Co., a Los Angeles brokerage, to buy Union Carbide stock to create the impression in the market that the sawe as increasing in that the sawe as increasing in the state of the same than the sawe was increasing in the stock went up, GAF sold most of its Union Carbide shares for \$115 million. GAF has denied any wrongdoing.

## **Space**

COVER STORY

# **Onward to Mars**

A dramatic launch heralds a new era of missions to the Red Planet



From the Kennedy Space Center and the Soviet Union's Balkouru Comardome, powerful shuttles and unmanned rockets if off week place of the space of the space space station in earth orbit. There, skilled workers have been assembling the ship that will take the first human to Mars. After more than a year of construction, the milmore than a year of construction, the milmore than a year of construction, the milready. With a crew of eight, it separates from the space station and heads for Mars, following the Hohmann ellipse, a space trajectory that range one day be a familiar as

Twenty days later, the blue-white earth has shrunk to a bright dot of light against the background of stars in the eternal night of outer space. Looking back, the crew members are filled with a sense of isolation. a feeling that will never quite leave them during the 280-day outbound leg of their journey. A busy schedule provides some distraction. The space travelers perform scientific experiments, practice taking shelter against solar-flare radiation, tend vegetables in their hydroponic greenhouses, exercise vigorously for several hours each day and tap into digital libraries for music, light reading matter and courses in Martian meteorology and geology.

At first they are able to communicate easily with complex on earth. But as they head further into space, the time required for their radio signals to reach earth lengthens to minutes, and the ever widening app between questions and answers makes conversation difficult. Now, with the earth more than 100 million miles wary, Mars is more than 100 million miles wary, Mars is errow begins preparing for a yearlong adventure on another world.

manned trip to Mars, long the stuff of science fiction, now appears to be just a matter of attem. The mystic planet, glowing read and ever brighter in the night skies, is heading toward its closest approach to the long to the stuff of the

Lifting off from Baikonur, the unmanned Phobos probe begins its seven-month journey

TIME, JULY 18, 1988

on its way, opening a new era in the exploration of the earth's closest planetary neighbor. During the next decade or so, the Soviets will launch a series of increasingly sophisticated unmanned Mars probes that they hope will culminate in a joint U.S.-Soviet manned mission to the Red Planet by the year 2010.

Last week that trip moved a step closer to reality. From its launching pad at the Baikonur space complex, near Tyuratam in the Soviet republic of Kazakhstan, a Proton rocket carrying an unmanned spacecraft rose on an orange and blue column of fire that illuminated the night sky. Turning lazily eastward, the rocket sent the craft off on an ambitious mission: to scout Mars and probe Phobos, one of its two tiny moons. Far below at the sprawling complex, technicians swarmed over a sister ship that is scheduled to be launched this week on a similar mission. Exulted Roald Sagdeyev, director of the Soviet Space Research Institute: "Now we

can go and drink champagne! Even as the celebration went on the thoughts of space experts turned to future Mars odysseys. Scientists and engineers in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are involved in the design of complex unmanned craft that will travel to the planet. Some American scientists are even conducting tests on a model of the robotic vehicle that may one day rove the Martian surface. Others are considering the ships that will carry human crews to Mars, the orbiting space station needed to launch them, the size and safety of the crews and the most practical routes through space. Though some formidable problems remain, many Soviet and U.S. experts see no insurmountable obstacles to landing humans on Mars early in the 21st century.

hile the American space program has been crippled since the Challenger disaster in January 1986, Soviet cosmonauts have been gaining invaluable experience aboard the orbiting Salyut and Mir space stations. And though U.S. astronauts are scheduled to return to space this September in the shuttle Discovery, which was wheeled to its Kennedy Space Center launching pad last week, NASA Administrator James Fletcher concedes that the Soviets are now "way ahead of us in manned flight." If each nation goes its own way, he predicts, the Soviets could land humans on Mars at least five years before the U.S. could.

Stiffed by budget cuts and foundering without clear-cut goals, NASA has scheduled only one Mars probe, the Mars Observer, which will go into orbit around the planet in 1993 to collect data on climate and geology. And while President Reagan agreed at the recent Moscow summit to a cautious joint communiqué describing "scientific missions to the moon and Mars" as 'areas of possible bliateral and interna-

Hovering over the Martian moonlet, the craft will zap the surface with a laser beam

tional cooperation," the Administration has been at best lukewarm to the concept of exploring Mars, jointly or otherwise.

Among other Americans, however, the idea of a manned Mars mission is gaining momentum, despite the estimated \$100 billion price tag for the undertaking. The venture has been endorsed by a dozen to the control of the

Physicist Hans Bethe and Notre Dame's former president, the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh. All of them have signed the Society's "Mars Declaration," which advocates a U.S. space program that would lead to the human exploration of Mars.

In Congress, too, support is growing, despite strong opposition from those who fear that a manned Mars trip would soak up funds needed for social programs, unmanned scientific space probes and military projects, among other things. Democratic Senator Spark Matsuaga of Hawaii has even written a book, The Mars Project, that strongly advocates the space journey.

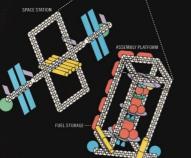
While the U.S. space program languishes, scientists from twelve European



## **SCENARIO FOR A MARS TRIP**

1. Earth





#### 5. Coming home 165-day return trip

When the craft nears the earth, a crew capsule carrying the astronauts and their Martian samples separates from it. The capsule is slowed down by the earth's atmosphere and meets with an orbital maneuvering vehicle. Together they return to the space station.

CARGO VEHICLE

nations, the European Space Agency and 1 the U.S. are participating in the Phobos mission, contributing technical expertise instrumentation and onboard experiments to the Mars-bound ships. The U.S. is lending a hand with its superior Deep Space Tracking Network, which will aid the Soviets in navigating and keeping tabs on their craft. Another U.S. contribution, aboard one of the Phobos probes: a plaque honoring Astronomer Asaph Hall of the U.S. Naval Observatory, who in 1877 discovered Phobos and the other little Martian moon, Deimos (both named after the sons of the Greek god of war, and meaning fear and terror)

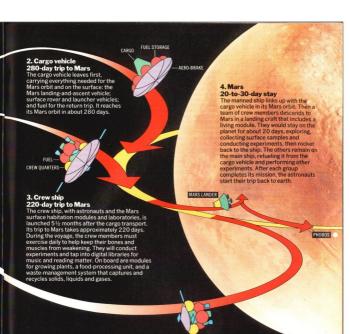
TIME Diagram by Joe Lertola

U.S. space watchers are impressed by

the boldness, originality and scope of the Phobos operation. The twin Soviet probes will arrive at Mars in January 1989, easing into orbit about 4,000 miles above the planet's surface, or 140 miles higher than the orbit of Phobos. For four months the two probes will circle Mars in various orbits, peering down at possible future landing sites and using remote-sensing devices to investigate the landscape and weather.

Their scrutiny of Mars completed. first one probe and then the other will be sent by controllers to rendezvous with potato-shaped Phobos, which, like Deimos, is believed to be an errant asteroid that was captured by Martian gravity. Each craft, in turn, will descend as low as 100 ft. above Phobos. Maneuvering like cruise missiles, they will follow the contours of the landscape as their television cameras pick out surface features.

All the while, the versatile craft will be analyzing the composition of Phobos with two Buck Rogers-like devices. One, a laser beam only a millimeter in diameter, will vaporize first one spot and then another on the tiny moon, which is only 17 miles at its widest point, while an onboard instrument determines the chemical makeup of the vapor spewing up from each spot. Another beam consisting of krypton ions will bombard the moonlet, and an onboard mass spectrometer will identify the ions given off by the blasted surface materials.



Eventually each of the probes will release a lander that will rocket down onto the moonlet and shoot an attached "penetrator" into the surface as an anchor, essential because of the weak gravity (onethousandth of the earth's gravitational pull). The solar-powered landers will then radio directly back to earth data on changes in the moon's gravitational field, thermal expansion and seismic noise. As if that were not enough, the frenetic probes will each drop a two-legged, domed "hopper" onto Phobos. After examining surface material and searching for magnetic fields at their landing sites, the hoppers will draw up spring-loaded. metal-alloy legs and, like giant frogs, leap

about 20 yards to a new location, where the observations will be repeated. Each hopper is expected to make about ten leaps, reporting back each time by radio, until its battery runs out.

"These missions are novel and trailblazing," says Cornell University Astronomer Carl Sagan, president of the Planetary Society and the man who first proposed a joint manned mission to Mars. "In terms of science, well all find out a lot about Phobos." Furthermore, he says, "in the long run, Phobos could act as a staging platform for human missions to Mars. It could also be a place where humans could live and work while they control robotic explorers on the surface of Mars."

Ever since they first peered into the night skies, humans have been awed and intrigued by Mars' baleful red glare. Ancient civilizations bestowed on the planet the name of their god of war. It was named Ares by the Greeks, Mars by the Romans. When the first telescopes revealed that the planets were neither specks of light nor gods but worlds, perhaps like earth, the notion grew that Mars might harbor life. Noting variations between the bright and dark areas of the planet, British Astronomer Sir William Herschel in 1784 attributed them to 'clouds and vapors" and concluded that Mars had an atmosphere and that "its inhabitants probably enjoy a situation in many respects similar to our own."
German Mathematician Karf Gauss
assumed that those inhabitants were intelligent. In 1820 he proposed growing a
huge wheat field in Siberia in the form of
a right triangle, surrounded by pine trees,
that could be seen from afar. That would
demonstrate to the Martians, Gauss figured, that earthlings not only existed but
understood mathematics.

But was there any real evidence that Martians existed? After peering through his telescope in 1877, Italian Astronomer Giovanni Schiaparelli (an uncle of the celebrated Paris couturiere) reported that he had charted several dozen candul linking dark areas on the surface of Mars. These candal; the astronomer worde, "present an indescribable simplicity and symmetry that cannot possibly be the work of chance."

No one was more excited by this revelation than a wealthy American mathematician, diplomat and astronomer, Percival Lowell of Boston, who established lein's novel Stranger in a Strange Land, and the popular Buck Rogers comic strip all involved encounters with Martians of various sizes, shapes and consistencies.

Finally, in 1965, the triumphant mission of the U.S. spacecraft Mariner 4 brought some reality to musings about Mars. The craft flew past the planet at a distance of only 6,100 miles, transmitting 22 television pictures of a bleak. moonlike landscape, pockmarked by craters and showing no signs of life. Even so, hope persisted. To demonstrate that a Mariner flyby at a distance of thousands of miles might completely overlook a thriving civilization, a young and still unknown Carl Sagan that same year sifted through a thousand pictures of earth shot by a weather satellite orbiting only 300 miles up. In a paper entitled "Is There Life on Earth?" he reported that only one photograph, of a snow-covered superhighway cutting a straight line through a forest, showed any sought out frozen water in the polar ice caps. On the surface, the landers began providing the most accurate measurements yet of Martina surface temperatures, atmospheric density and wind vectority, while the cameras shot more than surrounding, rock-strewn landscape. Each lander was also equipped with an arm that scooped up soil samples and fed them to a little otherad biological laboratory, where they were analyzed for any signs of metabolic activity, which would

signify life.

The first soil sample briefly breathed new life into the Mars mystique. After been good to make the line is underly released an unexpectedly high burst of oxygen, setting off a furry of speculation among scientists on earth. Did the oxygen one from some truly form of Martian life in the soil? After further tests failed to confirm those first results, scientists reluctantly concluded that the large amount of oxygen had probably been produced by a vapor and some unidentified oxygen-rich compound in the soil samole.

ome scientists, Soviet and American alike, have still not abandoned hope of finding life or its remnants of the property of

For these reasons alone, Mars enthussists say, further exploration of the Red Planet, both unmanned and manned, is scientifically justified. There is a growing sense of purpose being attached to a manned flight to Mars, both in the Swiet lebanov, a deputy director of the Space Research Institute of the Swiet Academy of Sciences. Like most of his counterparts in the U.S., he would prefer a measured, logical, step-by-step program to a more hazardous, hastly mounted manned mission. We must start to explore Mars in detail before such a flight is possible." he detail before such a flight is possible."

That is just what the Soviets plan to do. In 1992, when America's Mars Observer is scheduled to fly, they hope to send a third Phobos spacecraft into Mars orbit carrying advanced remote-sensing devices, including a radar mapper that will seek out the best landing sites for future missions. Two years later, the Soviets intend to launch a pair of highly sophisticated landers to Mars. Each will carry a small computer-controlled surface rover, a six-wheeled vehicle capable of traveling as far as 60 miles from the lander. It will be equipped with TV cameras, scoops and drills to sample materials and a minilab to analyze them. With information gained



Wish you were here: Viking 1 photo of mechanical arm for soil sampling and Marscape

an observatory in Arizona and dedicated it to the study of Mars. By 1908, influenced in part by optical illusions and wishful thinking, Lowell had counted and named hundreds of canals, which he believed were part of a large network conveying water from the polar ice caps to the parched cities of an arid and dying planet. Lowell's observations and musings, in turn, inspired British novelist H.G. Wells to write The War of the Worlds, a dramatic account of an invasion of the earth by octopus-like Martians. In 1938 a radio adaptation of that novel by another man named Welles-Orson, that is-panicked many Americans who believed that a real Martian invasion was under way

Even after the mighty 200-in. Mount Palomar telescope revealed no evidence at all of networks of straight lines or other manifestations of intelligent life on Mars, he fascination continued. Fredric Brown's novel Martians, Go Home, Ray Bradbury's The Martian Chronicles, Robert Hein-

When Mariner 9 was successfully inserted into low orbit around Mars in 1971. a planet-wide dust storm obscured its viion for six weeks. After the dust settled, Mariner's cameras revealed a fascinating landscape: towering volcanoes, great canvons, lava flows and a multitude of craters in the red-hued plains. What excited scientists and Mars buffs the most, however. was the unmistakable traces of dry riverbeds and deltas etched into the rock, evidence that water had once flowed freely on the Martian surface. Had life evolved on Mars while water was still ample? And might living organisms still exist there, perhaps in microscopic form?

evidence of man's presence on this planet.

It was in part to answer such questions that the U.S. Viking 1 and 2 spacecraft, each consisting of an orbiter and a lander, were dispatched to Mars. When they arrived, 45 days apart, in 1976, cameras aboard the orbiters snapped away and remote-sensing devices searched for water vapor in the thin atmosphere and

#### Space

from this mission, the Soviets hope to launch as early as 1998 a larger Mars lander-rover that could return soil samples to earth.

While the U.S. lacks a strong commitment to sending humans to Mars, the Administration's space policy, announced by President Reagan in February, does envision eventual "human exploration of the solar system." Toward that end. NASA has launched Project Pathfinder, a program to develop 18 new space technologies. They include compact nuclear reactors for powering lunar or Martian bases, in-space construction and assembly of spacecraft, and orbiting fuel depots for moon and Mars ships. "You can talk about going to Mars," says Pathfinder Leader Robert Rosen, "but you can't do it without these technologies." Congress appropriated \$40 million for the project's first year.

Congress. "The station would be needed to serve as an assembly point," says NASA's Brian Pritchard, who has studied the feasibility of such a plan. "We don't have the power to lift from 1 million to 3 million lbs. (the weight of the Mars shipl

into orbit from the earth."
Why so huge a craft? In addition to
carrying a million or more pounds of fuel,
carrying a million or more pounds of fuel,
but the control of the control of the control
carrying a million or more day, for example, each crew member will require
several pounds of oxygen. 4 lbs. of water
cere of eight no a 900-day mission, a
Mars spacecraft would have to carry as
much as 40 tons of provisions along or
much as 40 tons of provisions along the
added weight would require using—and
ing away from the earth and launching

ing to develop what they call a "self-contained bioregenerative support system." It will include a chamber for growing plants; a food-processing module for extracting the maximum edible content from all plant parts; and waste management modules for capturing and recycling the solids, liquids and gases necessary to support life on a space iourney.

In most of the manned Mars scenarios envisioned by NAS planners, the spacecraft would be constructed and fueled at a space station orbiting the earth at 17,500 m.p.h. Compared with blasting off from earth, considerably less fuel is needed to launch the earth from this speeding plant of the earth orbit or

# A Profile of Mars Diameter. 4,200 miles, in contrast to 7,926 miles for earth

Gravity. 38% as strong as earth's. Atmosphere, About 1% as dense as earth's; largely carbon dioxide with small amounts of nitrogen and argon. Climate. Temperatures from -225° F to 63° F. Topology. Craters, extinct canoes, enormous rift valleys and basaltic lava flows Distance from earth. At the closest, 35 million miles. Tourist attractions. Olympus Mons, a volcano nearly 16 miles high, and Valles Marineris. a canyon system 2,500 miles



Pathfinder did not start from scratch. NASA and the aerospace industry have long planned a variety of Mars missions that could lead to a manned flight. At NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., scientists are designing an unmanned rover with six wheels, each more than 3 ft. in diameter, to accommo date the rocky Martian terrain. In a still unapproved mission, the rover, imbued with artificial intelligence and television eyes, would seek out appropriate rock samples and stow them in a craft designed to return them to earth for analysis. At NASA's Marshall Space Flight Center in Huntsville, Ala., experts are designing living quarters for the space station that the U.S. hopes to begin assembling in earth orbit in the mid-1990s. Plans call for private sleeping cubicles, each equipped with a TV, sound systems and a computer. Mars enthusiasts point out that approval of a manned Mars mission as a goal would finally provide a compelling rationale for the projected \$30 billion space station that NASA has had trouble selling to a reluctant

There is an alternative to a fully stocked larder: recycling, the recovery of water and oxygen from waste products. NASA has developed prototypes for reclaiming pure water from urine and wash water, and oxygen from the carbon dioxide exhaled by astronauts. For their part, the Soviets have been retrieving some of their water for years, condensing it from the exhaled, humid air in the spacecraft. But Arkadi Ushakov, of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, concedes that the recovery systems in use today cannot meet the demands of two- or three-year missions. He believes a Mars ship will have to contain its own biosphere of renewable plant and water resources.

Toward that goal, Soviet researchers are investigating natural recovery systems; plants that will not only serve as food but also, in the process of metabolizing, absorb carbon dioxide and produce oxygen. The best performers so far, Ushakov says, are traditional food plants like carrots, sugar beets and salad greens. At the Kennedy Space Center, NASA scientists are tryended to the content of the process of the content of t

the path of the Hohmann ellipse,\* the craft would coast in a leisurely course halfway around the sun, then begin to accelerate as it came under the gravitational sway of Mars.

To save fuel that would otherwise be used by firing returnockets to ease the ship into orbit around Mans, the craft will be without the same of the ship of the craft will be shaped structure, as large as 80 ft. in diameter, will slow the craft as it encounters the thin Martina atmosphere. A short burst from the rockets will then boost the burst from the rockets will then boost the craft will descend to the surface in a lander. After pitting sand on the vehicle to shield it from the radiation that bombards a basic as a base for exploration, use the lander as a base for exploration.

How long the voyagers stay on Mars will depend in part on the homeward-

"The Hohmann ellipse is an ideal trajectory requiring a minimum of energy for a journey between any two planets, named after the German engineer who calculated it in 1925.

long.

bound route. To await the proper alignment of Mars and the earth for an economical Hohmann-ellipse return, the crew would have to remain on Mars for more than a year—increasing the mission length to what now seems an unbeaution length to what now seems an unbeaution of more fleet, the explorest could blast off earlier, head toward Verms and loop with the contract of the proper seems of the with the contract of the proper seems of the speed. That would cut the mission time to 600 to 700 days.

But the Venus route would also cause the craft to re-enter the earth's atmosphere at 80,000 m.p.h., in contrast to the returning Apollo's 25,000 m.p.h. "Were not sure we know how to build the appropriate heat shields," says Oberg. Also, at that speed, the astronauts would have a much smaller "window" for re-entering you burn up "says Oberg. "Corne in the hish, and you overshoot. You miss the earth, and you'll never see it again." Other plans call for an unmanned cargo ship to precede the manned craft to Mars and for even higher velocities that would cut mission times down to a year.

et the problems of sending a spacecraft to Mars and bringing it back to earth pale when compared with the challenge of keening its human cargo safe and in peak physical and mental condition. The medical consequences of long periods of weightlessness are still not fully understood. And radiation, says NASA's Michael Bungo, "is going to be a showstopper. Once beyond the earth's atmosphere and magnetic field, which protects terrestrial life from most lethal radiation, crew members would be vulnerable to cosmic rays. These highly energetic particles travel through space at close to the speed of light and can produce hazardous secondary radiation when they strike atoms in the aluminum walls of a spacecraft. During a single Mars mission, says Frank Sulzman, chief of NASA's space-medicine and biology branch, unprotected astronauts could receive an unacceptably high dose of radiation—more than is now allowed workers in a lifetime on jobs that expose them to radioactivity.

Even more dangerous are solar flares. which usually blossom on the sun around the peak of the eleven-year solar cycle. During these massive explosions, which astronomers can spot in the form of extrabright splotches suddenly appearing on the sun, bursts of X rays and charged particles are hurled outward at high velocities. Because protons from a large flare can easily penetrate the walls of a spacecraft and fatally riddle the body of an astronaut in half an hour, planners envision an onboard shelter into which the crew could repair as soon as a solar-flare warning was sounded. One idea is to build the shelter with the heavy-walled oxygen and

## The Perils of Zero Gravity

as imposing as the problems of extended space flight seem, most experts are confident that humans can survive the journey to Mars. But in what shape will they be when they get there? Says Nass Physicist Wendell Mendell: "It doesn't do you much good to deliver a human to the Martian surface if that human is inter for a time after landing."

Despite the experience gained from Apollo moon shots and the longer Skylab missions, U.S. doctors have some doubts about the ability of humans to withstand the effects not only of prolonged weightlessness but also of the transitions from gravity on earth (one G) to zero G in space to 0.38 G on Mars. "We're nowhere near ready to send a human to Mars,' says Dr. Michael Bungo, director of NASA's Space Biomedical Research Institute at the Johnson Space Center. "We've got years more of basic research to do.

Soviet space doctors seem more sanguine. While no American has stayed in space for more than three months, the Soviets have repeatedly staged manned flights of longer duration, capped

by the 326-day stay of Cosmonaut Yuri Romanenko last year of babard the orbiting space station Mir. "The experience of that flight," says Dr. Arkadi Ushakov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, "testifies that we should be optimistic about long-duration space flight. Our knowledge in the field of weightlessness is growing, and we are learning what countermeasures need to be taken to ensure health and safety."

Ushakov believes that two effects of prolonged weightlessness, calcium loss in bones and muscle atrophy, can be largely prevented by exercise. A strict regimen on a treadmill helped keep Romanenko's muscle tone and reduced the calcium loss to a degree that Ushakov calls insignificant. But other effects attributed to weightlessness are still cause for concern. "There is a general weakening of the immune system in a long-duration flight." Ushakov says. "When this happens,

there is a danger that every microorganism present in the ship can cause infection."

The Soviets have also detected changes in metabolic rates, which they say accelerate arteriosclerosis. Then there is the problem of neuromuscular control. Cosmonauts returning to earth after long lights have had trouble performing simple tasks like throwing a ball. Arriving on Mars, space travelers might be unable to carry out assignments.

ce travelers might be unable to carry out assignments.

The solution, many scientists believe, is to impart artifi-

cial gravity-in the form of centrifugal force-to the spacecraft. This might be accomplished by spinning a very large craft around its own axis. Other schemes envision three ships hooked together in a cartwheel-like arrangement that makes three revolutions per minute, or two vehicles attached by a half-mile-long tether rotating through space as the entire system speeds toward Mars. Still another idea is to schedule a daily workout for each crew member inside an on-board centrifuge, where resisting the centrifugal force would simulate working in gravity

Apollo 11 Astronaut Michael Collins foresees some technical difficulties in such simulation. "Spinning wouldn't take that much power," he says. "But it still

complicates things immeasurably from an engineering point of view." He notes that imparting spin to a Mars-bound craft could make both navigation and communication more difficult

dimicillus. Scientist Carol Stoker, at NASA's Ames Research. Center in California, points out that there would be benefits of artificial gravity beyond the physiological ones. "Toileis would flush properly, things wouldn't float in the air, and just think of surgery in zero gravity," she muses. Malcolm Cohen. Inchef of the neuroscience branch at Ames, worries about the possible physiological effects of rotation. "Vegitlessness is overcrome its effects. But artificial gravity in space is a devil we don't know well." Still, he concludes, "it's certainly an option we can't reject."



Zero gravity check-up: visiting the doc aboard Skylab

#### **Space**

water tanks that must be brought along anyway. Soviet scientists are experimenting with generating strong electrically charged fields around the spacecraft. These would have an effect similar to that of the earth's magnetic field, deflecting particles around the ship.

Another possible hazard on a long space journey has its source on planet earth: human nature. Soviet flights have demonstrated that performance levels begin to decrease as the days stretch into

gin to decrease as the days strete months. Cosmonaut Yuri Romonaut Yuri

Both American and Soviet behavioral scientists have begun to investigate small-group dynamics, which are likely to assume considerable significance during extended spaceflight. "There are always minor irritations involved in working with other people," says Psychologist Clay Foushee, of NASA's Ames Research Center. "Normally, these are not a problem because you can get up and move away. The trouble occurs when you can't leave a situation." That trouble can become catastrophic. Long Antarctic expeditions, which involve small groups isolated for months, have been marred by fights and occasional violence.

Other questions about group dynamics abound Among the fore-most: Should women be included on a Mars expedition? If so, what about sex? No one likes to talk publicly about that, admits NaxAs Flight Surgeon Patricia Santy. "There's no reason, even in a highly motivated professional crew, that the same kind of swand tensions that develon

here in offices aren't going to develop in space." Santy believes women should be included in the crew. If they are, she says, there should be at least two—both for mu-there should be at least two—both for mu-there should be s

For all the enthusiastic talk about a manned mission to Mars, many influential voices have been raised against it. None is more formidable than that of University of Iowa Physicist James Van Allen, the discoverer in 1958 of the earthgirdling radiation belts that today bear his name. With other scientists, he has long been critical of the shuttle, the space station and other programs that draw funds away from space science. "Any serious talk of a manned Mars mission at this mie sig rossly inappropriate." he says, arguing that the top priority of the U.S. should be to develop and build expendable rockets to launch satellites and space probes. "To talk about manned missions to Mars when we can't even launch a 500-lb, satellite is totally off the wall."

Van Allen believes a manned Mars mission would be "monstrously" expen-



Will the U.S. program ever lead to a manned flight to Mars?

sive, further draining money from more economical umnanned scientific probes. The Mars mission does have a certain appeal, he concedes, because "it's a matter of high adventure. But if you want to put it on any practical basis, it's totally uncompetitive with unmanned spacecraft by a factor of ten."

The idea of a joint U.S. Soviet Manmission is galling to other Americans who, glamout notwithstanding, simply do not trust the Soviets. Their view was summarized in a recent op-ed piece in the Los Angeles Time by Space Witter Aleestis Oberg, the wife of James Oberg. "A joint mission," she worker. "Completely and utterly ignores reality." Among the conmission, "she worker, "Completely and utterly ignores reality." Among the contraction of the control of the contraction of the control of the contraction of the control of the coning' effect it would have on our space program and on our future." Her conclusion:
"A complex, expensive, 25-year-long joint research program is like a marriage. It should be entered into soberly, advisedly, for better or for worse—and only after a very long engagement during which trust is built and loyalty tested."

Even proponents believe the U.S. should approach a joint effort with the Soviets in gradual steps, perhaps starting with an unmanned mission to bring back

soil samples from Mars in 1998.
Many, like Sagan, are convinced
that the advantages of a cooperative mission would override the
possible risks. Besides sharply reducing the enormous costs of gions
to Mars alone, such a venture, says
Sagan, "would revitalize a dispirited and unraveling NAS," and provide a "coherent focus for the U.S.
space program."

wen more important. in his view, a joint mission might help draw the US, and the Soviet Union closer together. He dismisses Fears that such a mission would risk giving away US. technology to the Soviets, pointing out that the Soviets are a decade ahead of the US. in several areas of spaceflight. "Technology transfer," Sagan concludes, "is likely to flow both ways."

The rising sentiment in the U.S. to return to space and eventually send men to Mars has not escaped the attention of politicians, cauged the attention of politicians. Says Democratic Contender Michael Dukakis: "We should explore with the Soviet Union and other nations the feasibility and practicality of joint space-engineering activities that might pare before the property of the

exploration of the solar system. There is much to be done—further exploration of the moon, a mission to Mars..."

If the U.S. is to mount or even play a meaningful role in a manned Mars mission early in the 21st century, the next President will have to make a commitment to a coherent national snace policy sooner rather than later. Enormous problems remain to be solved, and two decades is precious little time for developing a program that would land humans on another planet. The clock is running, and to NASA Ames Scientist Carol Stoker, the message from the Soviets is coming across loud and clear: "We're going to Mars, and the bus is leaving." And like her, more and more Americans are asking: Will the U.S. be By Leon Jaroff. Reported by aboard?

aboard? — By Leon Jaroff. Reported by Glenn Garelik/Washington, J. Madeleine Nash/ Pasadena and Richard Woodbury/Houston

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## Religion

## When Is a Bishop Not a Bishop?

Episcopalians enact an odd plan to avert a schism over women

A merica's Episcopal Church.
A micro Service S

Next comes the creation of women bishops. Though women nominated for the hierarchy failed to win in three U.S. dioceses this year, the election of the first women bishop appears inevitable and could occur as early as this fall. That prospect has produced free mutterings of schism. Last week

both the Episcopal Church and its overseas parent, the Church of England, embraced awkward compromises to advance the cause of women clergy while mollifying members who refuse to accept them.

The Episcopalians' peculiar scheme to head off a split squaked through a church convention in Detroit. Under the plan, a woman bishop would maintain jurisdiction over all of her flock but would not necessarily minister to everyone. Any congregation that rejected the notion of a woman bishop could petition the diocese to come under the special care of a male



Marching on: female priests in processional at the convention

"Episcopal Visitor" who would substitute for the spurned woman prelate at Communion, kaptisms and confirmations. Visitors could also fill in for male bishops whose support for women bishops offends traditionalists. To make matters even more complex, the regular bishops, be periodic pastoral visits required by church law, even to traditionalist parishes that had rejected them.

"We're very much aware there is nothing tidy about our proposal," confessed Father Jeffrey Steenson of Rosemont, Pa., a member of the committee that crafted the compromise. The bishops readily passed the bill after endorsement by Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, who was leading his first church conven-

tion, but it was nearly killed by priests and laity in the separate House of Deputies. Nedi Moore, a woman priest from Salinas, Calif, termed the measure "insulting," and the Rev. James Fisher of Easton, Md., objected to the idea that "you can be a bishop here but not a bishop there."

The Church of England, which has yet to approve women priests, took a major step in that direction last week. But in a contorted plan to appease conservatives, the church synod voted to give dioceses and parishes the right to reject any ministry by women, and engranted \$50,000 as compensation for lost pay to any priest who might feel unable to remain in a church with women clergy.

The head of the Church of England, Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie, affirmed his theological acceptance of women

priests but opposed the legislation because of the lack of consensus. The thill passed by only 58%, whereas two-thirds of bishops, clergy and laity voting separately) will be required for final approval in 1922 will be required for final approval in 1922 find an even more prominent forum next week when bishops of the Episcopal Church, the Church of England and all other branches of Anglicanism gather in England for their once-a-decade Lambeth Conference. The Medical Conference of the Church of the Church of England for their once-a-decade Lambeth Conference.

#### Milestones

BORN. To Christine Lahti, 38, imposing, versatile actress (Swing Shift, Housekeeping), and her husband Thomas Schlamme, 38, film and television director (Mondo Beyondo): a son; in Jackson, Miss. Name: Wilson. Weight: 71bs. 3 oz.

SEPARATING. Melvin Beill, 80, headline-grabbing attorney who has represented clients ranging from Lee Harvey OS-Markey States and Skiller Jack Ruby to victims of the 1984 Union Carbide chemical disaster in Blooqal, India; and his fifth wife, La Wiff Francisco. Mrs. Belli filed for legal separation and obtained a court order prohibiting her husband from entering the couple's Sé million Pacific Heighst mansion.

**DIVORCED. Pierre Salinger**, 63, onetime press secretary for President Kennedy, former U.S. Senator from California (1964), novelist and now chief foreign cor-

respondent for ABC News; and Nicole Gillmann Salinger, 49, French journalist and publicist; after 23 years of marriage; in Paris.

ARRESTED. Joan Kennedy, 51, former wife of Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy; on charges of drunken driving; in Centerville, Mass. She pleaded not guilty.

DIED. JR. McComeel, 42. audacious Texas real estate promoter and exemplar of his state's feverish boom-bast economy; by his state's feverish feverish expension of the largest title-insurance frauds in U.S. history. A cellmate, who allegedly aided the sucide, has been indicated for much real real feverish expension of the sucide has been indicated for much about the sucide has been indicated for the sucide ha

DIED. Eddle ("Cleanhead") Vinson, 70, raucous blues vocalist and hard-toned alto saxophonist best known for Cherry Red and other salty lyrics; of a heart attack; in Los Angeles. Winning attention with the Cootie Williams big band in the 1940s, Vinson re-emerged to larger renown in the '70s as he undertook European tours and played to rock audiences.

DIED. David Wilentz, 23, former Attorney ceneral of New Jersey who in 1935 prosecuted Bruno Richard Hauptmann for the kidnap-murder of Aviator Charles Lindbergh's infant son; in Long Branch, NJ. Hauptmann, whom Wilentz described in his summation as an "animal lower than the lowest form in the animal Kingdom," was convicted, and executed in 1936. For 40 years a dominant force in the Cardon strong hand in choosing gubernatorial and senatorial nominees.

#### Law

## The Case of the Little Big Man

An octogenarian lawyer mixes courtroom and show-biz talents

Three years ago, Barbara Chernow's husband was struck and killed by a New York City police car driven by a drunken officer. Chernow sued the city for \$29 million, partly for the loss of her husband's future income. Because her husband was 71 at his death, the jury might have concluded that his income-producing years were mostly behind

him. No problem. Her attorney was 86. Who better to demonstrate, after all, that a man still has earning power after his hair turns gray? "Chernow was in excellent health," argued the spry attorney. "He could have well outlived me."

Despite his age-or, as he believes, at least partly because of it-Octogenarian Harry Lipsig is perhaps the winningest liability lawyer in America, as well as the founder and head of the nation's largest personal-injury firm. Although he does not appear in court in all cases taken by his firm, Lipsig was delighted to be Exhibit A in the Chernow case. which brought out all his instinct for courtroom spectacle. "If you bore the jury, you have lost the case," says Lipsig, who just a few years ago helped win a client's lawsuit by leaping several feet up and back to perch on a courtroom railing in order to demonstrate a pivotal event in an assault case

It also does not hurt that the diminutive (5 R. 2 m) Liping can handle jurors' emotions with the finesse of a symphony conductor. The faces in the jury box registered grief and shock during Liping's opening statement in Chernow's suit as the maestro described the doctor's tragic demise: picked up by a front fender, smashed into a "shatterproof" wind-

shield, to "land with a thud on the roadway" with "52 bone fractures." After just one day of trial, the city threw in the towel and settled for an undisclosed amount. "Trying a case against him was like playing golf against Ben Hogan," said Linda Cronin, one of the opposing attorneys.

Lipsig takes his cases on a contingeny-fee basis, meaning that he collects only if he wins. In that event, he typically garners a third of the final award, which can run into the millions. He claims to win 95% of his cases, a figure that is all the more impressive in view of his reputation for taking "impossible" causes. His trick is for taking "impossible" cause. His trick is show-bit instincts. In the 1980 the third that the concessionaire in a New York stadium on behalf of a man hit by a soda bottle thrown from the stands. The vendor ar-

gued that nothing could have been done to prevent the injury. Throughout the trial, Lipsig kept on his desk a mysterious brown bag that tantalized the jurors. Not until his final argument did he open the bag to dramatically take from it a paper cup. "This is what they could have done to protect my client." he announced. He

The liability lawyer as courtroom knockout artist
"If you bore the jury, you have lost the case."

won the case. Ever since, chastened stadium concessionaires nationwide have sold beverages in paper cups.

That was only one of many Lipsig victories to result in new legal responsibilities for institutions, employers, manufacturers and municipalities. In a 1958 case involving Arnold Schuster, who was murdered after he had helped track down the celebrated bank robber Willie Sutton, Lipsig won a landmark ruling from the New York State Court of Appeals, the state's highest court. It opened up police to liability if they fail to provide reasonable protection for a person who assists a criminal apprehension or prosecution. Schuster's police protection had been withdrawn despite his pleas to have it continued

ntinued.
In 1969 Lipsig won another case that

made it easier for patients in New see a doctor or hospital for leaving eign object in their bodies after se Instead of having only three year surgery to bring such a suit. Lipsie time they could reasonably him the three hospitals are read to the problem. And just last we state's top court affirmed a \$1.25 tower-court judgment that Lipsi was injured on the field. Lipsig have for a high school football play was injured on the field. Lipsig he cashaustion before he went on the cashaustion before he went on the state of the country of the control of the country of the coun

against much larger opponen
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lipsig gets very serious abc incirc of the state of liability. "But for lawsuits brought by p al-injury lawyers, the Ford Co. would still be making de Pintos, which burst into when struck from behind." Is scribes the firm he Gunded 61 ago, which has now become I Sullivan & Liapakis, in term would make the Lone Ranger "Champion of the weak, defen the poor, the equalizer in the offitigation."

Not everyone shares L view of his usefulness to se Critics of big damage judge blame aggressive liability la constant of the constant of the constant of the constant of the city governments whose 'pockets' are filled with tax dollars. Says Blair Childs, exe director of the American To form Association, a lobby grr form Association, a lobby grr with the system where no one with the system where no one with the likes of Harry Lipsig. A few.

win big with him. But society is hurt Unfazed by such criticism. brings his crusading zeal to num other professional activities. He is h a weekly cable-TV show on curre sues; he also dispenses lawyerly adv regular newspaper columns and weekly radio show. He brushes off plaints that he uses these outlets t courage people to bring lawsuits. do is educate people about their rights," he maintains. People mu learning. Several weeks ago, Lipsig's which helped pioneer medical-mal tice claims, had to settle out of cour legal-malpractice suit brought by a who claimed that it mishandled

case. —By Richard L Reported by Raji Samghabadi/New York

## **Technology**

## **Wowing 'Em with Wizardry**

The Democrats plan the world's most automated convention

Michael Dukakis and Jesse Jackson may not see eye to eye on every issue, but when they go to Atlanta next week, they should have no trouble communicating. The Democratic National Convention promises to be the most thoroughly automated political gathering ever held, a million-dollar showcase of advanced technology. featuring such wizardy as

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ogy, featuring such wizardry as computer terminals controlled by a touch of the screen, high-speed electronic mailboxes, computerized diagrams of hotel meeting rooms and even a smidgen of artificial intelligence. Says James Sterling, the Democrats' telecommunications director: "This is without a doubt the most high-tech convention in history."

Political conventions have boasted sophisticated telecommunications systems in the past. The Democrats balloted by computer for the first time four years ago in San Francisco, and when the Republicans gather in New Orleans next

month, they will bring with them the usual arsenal of portable computers, cellular telephones and fax machines. But this year the Democrats, eager to portray themselves as the party that champions economic growth through high technology, seem to find pride and political symbolism in the fact that their convention will significantly out tech the Republicans'. "We just really knocked ourselves out to make sure we ended up with a stateof-the-art information system," says Arleigh Greenblatt, general manager of the convention and the man credited with the Democrats' technological blitz. "We wanted very much to be respected for our business prowess.

To some extent, of course, the Democrats are trying to make a political virtue out of what began as a logistical nightmare. Having failed to snare the 72,000seat Louisiana Superdome for its convention, the party was faced with the task of squeezing 35,000 delegates, press, VIPs and security staff into Atlanta's 17.000seat Omni Arena. The solution: to funnel the overflow into the adjacent Georgia World Congress Center and nearby hotels and then tie the whole conglomeration together with video monitors, shared computer files and electronic mail. The result is a computer system that, the committee claims, "equals or excels [that of] many FORTUNE 500 companies.

The backbone of the system is a vast temporary network connecting 9,000 telephones and 250 computers. To handle the torrent of news and messages passing among the machines, the Democrats laid down 23 miles of fiber-optic cable, each

strand of which can simultaneously carry thousands of digital signals. The flow of information will be managed by software from Novell, a Utah-based firm that specializes in getting machines of different makes to work together.

On the floor of the convention, each delegation will be issued one IVIS—inte-



Computer-aided seating makes shuffling delegations a snap

grated voice information system—that looks like a portable computer with a telephone at its side. Votes recorded on the IVS terminals are instantly tabulated um. The IVS is also an electronic mail drop, allowing, say, the party chairman from New York to flash a message to the Connecticut delegation on the other side of the hall. The built-in telephone can be for frequently called numbers, "speed-dialed" with a touch of the screen. For example, if a floor manager flash binnelf



Party staffers loading up their data bases

A symbol of competence and business savvy.

calling National Chairman Paul Kirk over and over, he can add Kirk's telephone extension to a list of preprogrammed phone numbers. From then on, the caller can press a spot next to Kirk's name on the screen of his IVIS, and the chairman's bonoe will first.

The computers will also give delegates access to more than 100 special data bases, ranging from the phone numbers of press contacts to the master list of 7,500 convention volunteers. Want to throw a party? Tap the right computer keys, and the names of Atlantans willing to help or-

ganize a fête appear. Tap again, and a list of available facilities fills the screen. Tap once more, and up pops a screenful of eager hosts and

nostesses.

Any information can be sliced countiess ways. A candidate may get a list of delegates arranged in alphabetical order, by state or by the candidate most candidate those delegates support.

candidate those delegates support cousines. Should a transportation shortage develop, planners can tap the computer for a roster of lim users who are not considered VIPs. The organizers can then try to convince those people that the party

brass deserve priority. To help plan the innumerable powwows and get-togethers accompanying any political convention, a "facilities management system" stores data about ballrooms, dining halls and other public areas in the Omni and 53 nearby hotels. A sonic "gun" was used to measure and record the dimensions of every available meeting room. Now, by tapping the proper keys, convention staffers can call up colorful, detailed floor plans, complete with dotted lines to indicate partitions that can be drawn or pulled back. Using a computer-aided design program like those used by architects, they can quickly lay out the seating arrangement that best accommodates the number of invited

guests to the dimensions of a room To make the system as user friendly as possible, party programmers have installed a feature derived from artificial-intelligence research that allows computer illiterates to pose queries in simple English sentences. For example, typing the question "How many super-delegates are there?" into a terminal should instantly elicit the proper numerical response. Despite such conveniences, each staffer will be issued a Convention Computer Network User's Manual and be required to go to two introductory training sessions. There will also be a half-hour "get-acquainted" computer class for delegates. Should anything go wrong during the proceedings, a 45-member "swat team" of computer technicians will be standing by 24 hours a day, ready to swoop in and set things right. - By Philip Elmer-DeWitt. Reported by Don Winbush/Atlanta, with other bureaus

# PREACHER, TEACHER, GADFLY

WILLIAM BENNETT is leaving as Secretary of Education, but his tart tongue and ample ego will keep him highly visible—and audible—and could well propel him higher in the G.O.P.

I has been a dazzling bit of footwork, even for a worldclass dancing man like William Bennett. Since he took office in February 1985, the brash Secretary of Education as turned himself into the most subile and surely the man beautiful that the subile and surely the man beautiful that the subile and surely primaries, he filled with various presidential aspires who eyed him as a running mate: "I dance with all the girk," he would be a subject of the profile of "I'm not running for anything," he said, Amid a riptide of Administration defectees, Bennett held fist.

Then on May 9, Bennett told Reagan he was quitting speptimet to Iceture and write. But no kiss-and-tilel stuff. "That's not my style," he growled. Bennett, however, has more than one agenda. He is consulting with the Republican Platform Committee as it prepares for next month's convention, where he will be a prime-time speaker. Top convention, where he will be a prime-time speaker. Top convention, where he will be a prime-time speaker. To see that the state of the prepares of the state of the propiet in the stakes for the presidency. I could do better than that." As a vice-presidential candidate? "I'm not sure I'd make a very good No. 2 man," he retors." I like to run things."

No one who knows Bill Bennett, 44, doubts that. Nor has there been much doubt where he has been headed in the cross-country whirf that has taken him to 102 elementary and secondary schools in three years—plus scores of service clubs and state legislatures. Watch him as he visits No. 88, the Amherst Middle School near Nashua, N.H.:

The Amherst faculty beams as Bennett rumbles in trailed by aides. He smiles, wave, past shoulders, walking canted forward from the waist as though learing into a wind. Bennett is a big name—6 if 2 in., 216 lbs. A friend was the smile to the smile that does well without begging for federal money. "Insofar as people look to Washington for solutions, they're worson," says Bennett, At these whistle stops, the smile that the sm

He can. Scrunching into a child's chair in an eighthgrade English class, Bennett speaks softly. "You don't want to scare 'em," he explains later. When the pupils' questions become too rote, Bennett teases. "Some kids asked me i Secret Service was here. "See that big guy back there?" says, pointing to a hulking bodyguard. "If you guys ma move for me, you're in trouble."

The kids love him. So does the rest of the school, wire roars happily at the award ceremony. Then, running he makes a widi, 85-m.p.h. run to Concord to address New Hampshire legislature. In Governor John Sun office, Bennett asks Senate President Bill Bartlett, "I long shall I do?" "Three minutes," says Bartlett, "plent time for some guy from Washington."

Bennett guffliws. He revels in this back-room can deric, the rough-and-tumble of what he is doing. It see grownup version of the heavy-contact touch football Bennett loves to play on fall weekends—and may sym ize the life he would choose had he been born faster and eternally young. Bennett plays the theme of fruga and eternally young. Bennett plays the theme of fruga loves and the plays the three of the plays the three heavy lence is local control, you cannot spend your way to exlence." he says to approving node.

Then he is off again for a sprint to Boston's Logan, porten route to a final flourish in Allanta. Bennett seen revel, too, in these dashes, riding the fast lane in car conversation, in politics, "He's got a big ego, and he kn it," says an associate. At Logan, Press Secretary I will be a surface of the secretary of the secretary of the secretary of the secretary in the secretary in the secretary of the secretary

You work hard and then go to your family."

He is adamant about skipping the capital's heavy bashes: "Nobody ever says anything at those things, grumbles. By reports, he has turned down invitations f George Bush. Bennett confesses he'd rather be he "watching Dragonslayer on the Disney Channel"

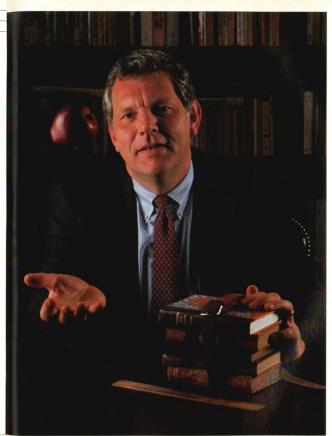
Elayne and their son John, 4.

This close family life is precious to Bennett, a Cath
whose parents divorced 40 years ago, when pious folk
on. His mother, who disliked the irich and called the far
"as common folk," moved Bill, an older brother Bob
their Hungarian grandmother from Brooklyn to Woh
ton. There, Bennett flourished at Gonzaga High, a Je
the football learn," he brags But he chaled under the di
pline of the fathers. "They regarded me as a smarty-pa
and they were absolutely right," he says.

At the same time, he began to develop a ravenous about at 17 he got into élite Williams College in Ma chusetts. Grandma scraped together \$200 for clothes. "knew there were a lot of guys from St. Paul's and Ando and that I ought to dress up to speed," he recalls.

At Williams he got daily letters from her; she read his major texts so she could trade notes on them. To I pay tuition, Bennett waited on tables and worked sums hauling furniture white earning honors, playing foot and strumming a rock guitar—the very model of the 15 liberal student. Civil rights concerns nudged him tow liberal student. Civil rights concerns nudged him tow turned violently radical. But Brother Bob staked him to tark the property of the property of the property of the tark the property of the property of the property of the tark the property of the property of the property of the tark the property of the property of the property of the property of the tark the property of the property of the property of the property of the tark the property of the property of the property of the property of the tark the property of the tark the property of the propert

A resentment at privilege began to boil, and still si mers today. "I really dislike snobs," he growls, "pretenti-



#### **Profile**

"AFTER WATCH-

**PEOPLE IN THE** 

presidency, I could

do better than that.

I'm not sure I'd

No. 2 man. I

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people who mistreat people who have to work for them. I hate them." This anger congealed into a hard-edged populism as Bennett took a Ph.D. in philosophy at the University of Texas, then served as a dean of liberal arts at Boston University, all under brilliant, acerbic John Silber, who was then undergoing a conversion from liberal to born-again conservative.

Bennett refined his own convert's faith as director of the National Humanities Center in North Carolina and then, at age 38, as head of the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington. At NEH, Bennett accused college faculties of a "collective loss of nerve and faith" for serving up trendy courses at the expense of classic Western studies. He spurned affirmative-action quotas in NEH hiring, arguing that quotas were discriminatory.

Mary Futrell, president of the powerful National Education Association, has called Bennett's record on civil rights "less than exemplary." Bennett retorts, "If you don't think people should be given things or have things taken away on the basis of race or sex, if you believed that in 1965, you were a liberal. If you believe it

now, you're a conservative.'

Bennett's style caught the approving attention of Attorney General Edwin Meese, who recommended him as Secretary of Education, the bottom-ranked Cabinet slot. Bennett recalls, "The President said, 'I can't get rid of this department. But since we have it, I'd like you to represent the views of the American people and not the education interest groups.' I said, 'Fine, that's what I'd like to do.' "He has done so with gusto, greatly aggrandizing the position while so-called education interest groups-including university people and members of Congress—chafed at the notion that their own agendas were not of the people. (Silber, who

wanted the job himself, dismisses his protégé as the "Sorcerer's Apprentice."

Bennett began by roasting college students as easy riders who beach-bummed on tax-supported loans. He then accused the Supreme Court of a "fastidious disdain for religion" for banning use of public funds for remedial programs in parochial schools. He trampled on congressional toes with public calls for sub-basement education budgets (which Congress rejected), rather than tactfully negotiating compromises in committee

Reaction was quick and furious. Augustus Hawkins. Democratic chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor, awarded the new Secretary a "failing grade." Connecticut's Republican Senator Lowell Weicker fumed that Bennett and his views should not be "allowed out of the Education building, much less outside Washington.

So pervasive were the counterattacks that even the cocky Bennett felt abashed. "I underestimated the size of the microphone I had," he says. Bob, a Washington lawyer, offered some new big-brotherly advice. Says Bennett: "He's got this big fish mounted in his office, and he said, 'You know why that fish is up there? Because he opened his mouth, that's why.

Bennett has since attacked the likes of Harvard for jacking costs above \$12,000 with the help of federal stu-

dent-loan support and for "ripping off" undergraduates with suffused curriculums that Bennett derides as "core lite." He has detonated heavy controversy by advocating federal vouchers to finance parental choice among public schools-typically, say opponents, white schools for white kids living in mixed neighborhoods. He has called for AIDS testing of all marriage-license applicants. hospital patients and convicts and has unloaded on Republicans and Democrats alike who opposed the President's Iranian and contra policies. All that after Brother Bob told him about the fish. "He sees a complex federal agency as a bully pulpit," comments Joseph Duffey, chancellor of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and Bennett's predecessor at NEH. "It is the temperament of a preacher." Hawkins has another, perhaps more canny, perspective: "Bennett gives the answers of a professional politician rather than a professional educator"-a judgment some observers see as the sum of his many parts

The contentious Bennett has made no bones about using the office to preach. "This is the appropriate job for the Secretary of Education," says he, "where your

powers to say and be heard are much greater than your powers to make things be." At the same time, he emerged as a formidable doer within the party. When the news came out that Supreme Court Nominee Douglas Ginsburg had smoked pot as a law professor at Harvard. Bennett made a critical call to Ginsburg, urging him to end his candidacy. Nor, in recent months, has he shown signs of easing back on either the frequency or muzzle velocity of his comments on education. Some sample shots:

▶ "Star teachers ought to get salary increases. At the other end, throw out the incompetent people; they're killing the profession.

▶ "Allan Bloom [author of The Closing of the American Mind/is a brilliant man, very good for higher education. But much too despairing. He doesn't see the happiness and spontaneity of American life. I hate that prissy crap where he's anti-rock 'n' roll

▶ "What makes me happy is seeing a good school . . . and knowing more than all my critics.

He has saved his real shockers for Cabinet colleagues. When an old friend, Justice Department Spokesman Terry Eastland, was fired by Meese, Bennett declared bluntly, "Terry Eastland's an excellent man. He can join me at the department any time.

With that stroke, Bennett distanced himself from the wreckage of the expiring regime. He also began to establish himself, for the future, as very much his own man. "Look," he told a reporter, "I put country above party. Always have." Then he added, "I know that I'm popular with audiences out there in the country, and it doesn't seem to make much difference whether they're Democrats or Republicans

Bill Bennett may be leaving this Administration, but when he says things like that, he does not sound like a man who has given up public service for good. So what might lie ahead for him? "Right now," he says, "if I were going to run for anything in the future, I'd want to run for President." By Ezra Bowen



## Sport

## And Steffi Will Play the Winner

While visiting its past, tennis reorders its future

Among the many piques and volleys of tennis, this year's Wimbledon had a distinct feeling of passage. For the first time since Jimmy Connors and Chris Evert doubled in love 14 years ago, two fresh champions emerged, one for the ages. The torch that Steffi Graf has been tugging at for more than a year, but that Martina Navratilova managed to hold fast last summer at both Wimbledon and the U.S. Open, was finally handed over gracefully, emphatically and a little sadily.

Hoping at 31 for a ninth Wimbledon singles title, the one that would leave Helen Wills Moody and everyone else behind, Navratilova warmed up for Graf with a 41st victory over Evert in their 78-match marathon. "These two are ranked 10 and 11 now," observed the former U.S. Davis Cupper Gene Soctu. "Steff is 1 through 9."

Thirty-three and ready to try a second serve at marriage, to the mountain skier Andy Mill, Evert departed the All Engaled Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club for the first time in almost 20 years without the sure knowledge that she would return. "I don't know, we'll see," she said. During their light semifinal, which may have turned on a bad call. Evert sensed a vulnerability in her Old adversary that made body language looks confident, but I can tell she sint."

Reading the moods of the robust but fragile Czechoslovak has never been especially difficult, going back to Martina's butterball days around the time of her 1975 defection. A stinging loss then could push her past tears to sobs at courtside.

Sculpting her body to a point nearperfection, and maybe to half a crank beyond that, Navratilova eventually learned to do her crying offstage. With bruised eyes, she reappeared from the locker room 45 minutes after the only Wimbledon final she ever test, to say the right things. "It's not so bad. I'm happy for Steffi today. .. She's a nice human being. I could feel what she was feeling. I know what it is."

Without a rain delay, it could scarcely be Wimbledon. But the pause in the third set with Graf on a rampage only stressed the powerful points, backhands and back of the properties of the prope



Edberg displays his golden trophy

sighed the woman finished off (5-7, 6-2, 6-1) by the girl.

"It's a sad thing for her," said Graf.

"She really had felt that she could win it. This is her special tournament." But Steffi never gave much thought to losing. "It would not be the way to go to the Grand Slam," she said. Australia, France and England are in hand, and only next month's American Open remains, in the



New Champion Graf shows off her maturing backhand A very nice human being and a super player.

first sweeping quest on either the men's or women's side since Margaret Court's in 1970. A "special player," a "super player," Martina called Graf, and some say she may soon be as strapped for an opponent as Mike Tyson. "Except I'm not talking about retiring." Steffi said.

The All-German Championship of popular foreasts was right as the rain unuil stefan Edberg cut in on Boris Becker, 46-7.6.6.4.6.2. Five years ago at Wimbledon, they opposed each other during the junior championships, and Edberg both beat Becker and won the tournament to nominate himself as the coming star. But the two Australian titles and some 54 million he has earned at 22 have some 54 million he has earned at 22 have Becker's back-to-back Wimbledons in 1985 and 1986 and world celebrity at 20.

On an exuberant imagination, Becker has somersualted into almost every tennis vacuum, though especially the one in the States. Connon and John McErnce go on milking their death scene from Gamera and the states of the States of

Saying "I hardly could miss the ball," Edberg for once displayed the serenity and not just the stoicism of the five-time champion Bjorn Borg. "All of us in Sweden grew up watching Borg in the finals of Wimbledon. Now I've won Wimbledon too. It's quite fun actually." Asked if it might change him, he responded, "It hasnit yet." (At least."

sponded, "It hasn't yet." (At least half an hour had gone by.) In other words, he would be maintaining his English residence in Chelsea? "No. Kensington." And not be moving to Monte Carlo, nearer the night fied and farther from the taxmen? "It's not me." As a matter of fact, bed beg describes his fundamental hope as the ability to continue patronizing a particular pizza parlor in anonymity.

Fretting for the health of the game if it is deprived of him, McEnroe darkly took stock of his flagging comeback and called this a "critical time for tennis and me." He said he coming like soccer, "where the rest of the world is crazy about it, and noby in the U.S. gives a damn." But Lendl, 28. the lead Swede Mats Williamster, 23, the Australian Pat Cash, 23, Bocker and Edberg are at least 23, Bocker and Edberg are at least the winner. — By Fore Calabare

## **People**

Being mama to a llama isn't easy-even if you are Alice Walton, daughter of America's richest man. Walton, 38, whose dad is Sam Walton, founder of the Wal-Mart chain of stores and a zillionaire, has coffee with her llama LaRoy each morning. Her explanation: "He has no friends of his own kind." She has also tried to involve the beast in her work. She has set up an investment company, used LaRoy's image as a logo and named the firm Llama Inc. "I figured this way I could write him

off," says Alice. But the ethics of deducting a close companion



Make-over: Washington, flanked by Liberty and Fame, in a detail from the Capitol

who consulted experts on Michelangelo's frescoes as part of the \$49 million Capitol restoration. Last week, after a year's cleaning, a gleaming if sullen Washington was revealed, attended by refreshed allegorial figures of the original 13 states. Now that George is back in his heaven, will all be right in D.C.?

From the Diaries of Mario Cuomo, Volume II: The Noncampaign. July 5, 1988. Today I thought I'd show up those spoiled, incompetent, ungrateful newsmen who dog my tracks. They dared me to report a story. So I became cub reporter for a day-complete with press pass-for the Jamestown Post-Journal up in western New York. At my first press conference on the other side of the lectern, I threw some tough questions at Stan Lundine, my Lieutenant Governor, as he announced \$4 million in state aid to a local plant.

President's ancestry to Henry III, whose father King John was forced to sign the Magna Carta. Bush is distantly related to every European ruling house and can claim kinship to Queen Elizabeth II through a dozen or so lines. As for Dukakis, says Burke's publisher Harold Brooks-Baker, the son of Greek immigrants is "likely to have Turkish blood but nothing exciting at all. Bear in mind, the Ideposed] Greek royal family is Danish." Yes, and Bush is related to them too.

They shared their troubled teens in the movie Pretty



Grownup: McCarthy and Ringwald straying in Fresh Horses

lionin state aid to a local plant.
I gave Stan a good write-up) heavy hand that eldiro Cristie
Herbat had. Stan. she
killed my lead-seemed
to think it was too wordy
and dull—and cut hack
my praise for you. What
lesc can I say 78th s probably a Republican. You
and tallam erporters for

everything.

and also managed to dictate |

(since I can't type) this line:

"The Governor was unavail-

able for comment since he was

Michael Dukakis may be the Duke, but George Bush could well be a prince. Burke's Peerage the last word on British blue-bloodedness, last week described Bush's ancestry as a "genealogical miracle." Burke's has traced the Vice

Horses, Andrew McCarthy, 25. and Molly Ringwald, 20, embark on a course of confused adulthood-and adultery. Ringwald, who has already portraved a young mother in For Keeps, plays a married woman who lures McCarthy into an affair, "People do grow up," she points out. She still finds love scenes "embarrassing to do" but adds that "if they are handled well, it's O.K. You have to like your costar. And I do like An-drew." McCarthy concurs: "There's not a lot of dead air when we're around each other." Is that grownup talk? - By Howard G. Chua-Eoan.

in Pink. In this fall's Fresh

—By Howard G. Chua-Eoan.
Reported by Kathleen Brady/
New York

Write-off: Walton and her llama worry her, and, besides, the venture hasn't yet improved

worry her, and, besides, the venture hasn't yet improved LaRoy's social life. "He has a lot of horse friends," says Walton. "We hope there will be no crossbreeding."

At the end of the Civil War, visitors to the U.S. Capitol could clearly see a vision of George Washington enthroned in heaven among a very undemocratic cluster of divinities. But in the 123 years since Constantino Brumidi completed the 4,664-sq.-ft. Apotheosis of Washington on the ceiling of the Capitol dome, dust and soot have obscured the Father of his Country. "It had more problems than the Sisting ceiling," said Chief



Conservator Bernard Rabin, Recast: Cuomo playing cub reporter

## Art

## **Beyond the Wildest Expectations**

At a remarkable auction, Soviet artists come into their own

S talin despised it as "decadent bourgeois formalism" and had it locked away. Khrushchev called it excrement and branded its creators "pederasts." Brezhnev ordered bulldozers to smash it into the ground at an outdoor exhibit. Such has been the fate of Russia's modernist art at the hands of dictators bent on enforcing their philistine tastes with the whole armamentarium of the totalitarian state. Even Mikhail Gorbachev has found that the tradition of putting down avant-garde art dies hard among cultural bureaucrats. As a result, the visual arts have been far slower than literature and music to benefit from glasnost

Until last week. Then, in Moscow, the London-based auction house Sotheby's staged the first international art auction ever held in the Soviet Union. An eager crowd of 2,000 packed the ballroom of the Sovincenter, a lavish hotel and conference complex usually off limits to Soviet citizens, to gaze on an array of works that in many cases had rarely works that in many cases had rarely sold openly. Bidding was restricted to foreigners who could pay with

British nounds

More than 90 collectors, dealers and museum curators had been flown in from the U.S. and Europe by Sotheby's; others had submitted written offers or were appeared to the state of the stat

The hottest bidding was for Line, a 1920 minimalist masterwork in black and white by Alexander Rodchenko (1891-1956). It went for \$567,000 to David Juda of London's Annely Juda Gallery, one of a growing number of Western dealers specializing in Russian art. Several other Rodchenko works drew high bids, including the cubist-inspired Composition, 1916. The second highest price of the sale, however, was fetched by a contemporary Soviet artist, Grisha Bruskin, 43, who has been harassed by the KGB for displaying his paintings to foreigners. An anonymous buyer paid \$416,000 for his Fundamental Lexicon, a witty but inconsequential series of 32 panels depicting statues of ordinary citizens in heroic poses.

The sale was a stupendous windfall for Bruskin and other living artists, some of whom could scarcely show their work



Rodchenko's Composition: radical forms for a new era

two years ago and still have to scrounge for materials and studio space. They will receive 60% of the auction prices—10% in pounds that they can use abroad and the rest in so-called gold rubles, which have up to five times the purchasing power of ordinary rubles. (The Soviet state will get 32%, and Sotheby's the remaining



Detail of Bruskin's Fundamental Lexicon

8%.) Two relative unknowns, Svetlana Kopystiansky and her husband Igor, were stunned as Pop Singer Elton John put in a winning bid of \$75,000 by telephone for a tempera landscape by Svetlana and another bid of \$75,000 for a portrait in

oils by Igor.

So electrifying was the commercial success of the sale that its dark subtext remained submerged. Rodchenko and other gifted early modernists had conceived of radical forms that would reflect Russia's new revolutionary ethos. In the 1930s, however, these avant-gardists were reviled and their talent and idealism laid waste by the Stalinist juggernaut. Alexander Drevin, two of whose lyrical paintings were included by Sotheby's, was arrested during the Great Terror and died in the Gulag in 1938. His wife Nadezhda Udaltsova, one of the most prominent modernists, was so frightened by his arrest that she destroved most of her work. The five compelling Udaltsova abstractions that were in the sale are among the rare survivors of that debacle. Most of the contemporary artists chosen by Sotheby's are veterans of the post-Stalin campaigns against experimental art. Vladimir Yankilevsky, 50, a painter of mechanicallooking, large-scale canvases, was a target of Khrushchev's famous scatological outburst at a contemporary art show in 1962

The Sotheby's auction reflected Gorbachev's new policy of exploiting Soviet cultural strengths and sent a clear signal that the Soviets now want to become serious, long-term contenders in the international art market. One immediate effect will be to accelerate the flow of works from the Soviet Union to the West. Galleries in the U.S. are already commanding phenomenal prices for Soviet artists. America's leading dealer in Russian art, Eduard Nakhamkin, this year sold a fivepart Yankilevsky multimedia work to a collector for \$140,000. Dealer Ronald Feldman exhibited the brilliant conceptual artist Ilva Kabakov at his New York City gallery this spring. Before the show closed last month, collectors bought four of the ten rooms created and festooned by Kabakov with cryptic signs and objects.

of 90 early-20th century Russian paint-ings will open at the Hirshborn Museum. Works by Chagall, Malevich, Kandinsky, Rodchenko and other artists, once locked the Rodchenko and other artists, once locked tyakov Gallery in Moscow and the State Museum in Lenningrad. Unlike the Sotheby's offerings, these are for display, not for sale. But like so much of this radiantly emergent art. they are well work of the Rodchenko and the

This week in Washington an exhibit

## Living

## Invasion of the Airwaye Snatchers

Electronic gremlins have Americans tuning in their neighbors

"Turn that thing off," Irene said. them," says Utasy, "I don't really know they can hear us, "Im switched exactly how they work. Or why they the radio off, "That was Miss Armstrong, sometimes don't." the Sweeneys' nurse." Irene said. "She must be reading to the little girl. They live in 17-B. I've talked with Miss Armstrong in the Park. I know her voice very well. We

must be getting other people's apartments.
"That's impossible," Jim said.

-The Enormous Radio

Try telling that to Blanche Fawell. The Glen Ellyn, Ill., mother of two stumbled into the technological twilight zone when she bought a two-channel monitor to keep audio tabs on her new baby. The machine works fine. The trouble is. Fawell is never sure whether the gurgling and snoring she is listening to are little Timmy's-or some other infant's.

'I'm hearing other people's children on both channels," says Fawell, "One of them seems to be older and more mobile. based on what the mother says to him at naptime. The child I'm hearing on the other channel is a baby around the age of mine. One day my husband was holding the baby, when, over the monitor, he heard another baby crying upstairs. He turned white

Those ghostly sounds on the monitor are just one manifestation of an electronic specter that is spooking America. Cordless telephones snatch the sounds of other people's conversations from the ether. Garage doors magically shudder open. Houses light up unbidden. Like the Westcotts in The Enormous Radio, John Cheever's 1947 short story about a wireless that broadcasts the real-life drama of a New York City apartment building, Americans are unwittingly tuning in to their neighbors' private affairs.

HELP! In Fraser, Mich., a baby monitor tapped into a drug dealer's cordlesstelephone conversations, leading to three arrests after the parents invited police into the living room to listen, "The guy was setting up a transfer of drugs for later that evening, but we didn't know who or where he was," says Ron Wolber, the local director of public safety. Then the suspect sent out for pizza, giving his address, and the collar soon followed

CALL THE EXORCIST! In suburban Dayton, Cindy Dolloff lived for eight years with a spirit that took possession of her automatic garage-door opener, causing it to pop open at all hours. In Beverly Hills, Andrew Utasy came home one drizzly night to find himself locked out when the center bay of his three-car garage adamantly refused to open-and he owns a company that makes and services automatic openers. "Of course, I don't design

THEY'RE BACK! After discovering that both his cordless phone and his baby monitor were eavesdropping on his nextdoor neighbors, Paul Prinke, a sheet-metal worker in a Chicago suburb, switched back to his conventional telephone. But he still wasn't safe from poltergeists. 'I ley, director of public relations at Fisher-Price, which makes monitors. Manufacturers are trying to correct

the problems. Newer cordless phones feature as many as ten frequencies. Still, the sheer proliferation of wireless communications is likely to mean more future shocks. There are an estimated 1.23 million cellular-phone owners in the U.S.; other types of mobile communications have materialized on airplanes and in taxicabs. The worsening gridlock worries even professional spooks, whose nightmares run to wired-for-sound informants having their cover blown by stray radio waves. "All the problems you can experi-

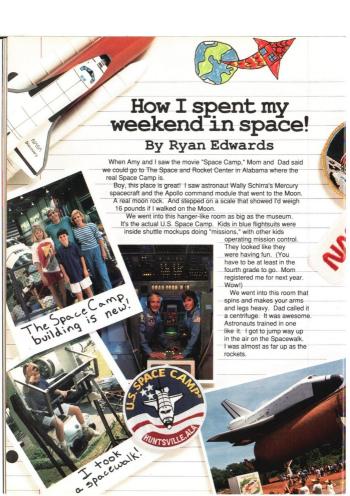


was talking with someone on my regular old phone, when suddenly I heard another voice say, 'Is that you, Paul?' " recalls Prinke. It seems that Illinois Bell had wired neighbors together on an impromptu party line after a storm.

For years, audiophiles with powerful hi-fi rigs have battled stray radio signals. trying to shield Mozart from the intrusion of amplified CB sets. But now that electronic gadgets have insinuated themselves into nearly all of daily life, the problem of interference is widespread. It can result from strong radio emissions that blot out weaker signals and from the inability of some products to reject unwanted signals. The frequencies are getting crowd-

ed." says Jerry Friebus, a Federal Communications Commission spokesman in Chicago. "It's like putting a bug into someone's home." (Courts have held that cordless telephones are like radios, and conversations on them are not protected by privacy statutes.) To complicate things further, some devices, such as baby monitors, operate on the same frequencies as cordless phones. "There's no getting around it. When you use a monitor, you're on the public airwaves," says Carol Blackence with your phone or garage-door opener, you can experience with electronic surveillance equipment," says a former CIA electronics contractor. Not even Ronald Reagan is immune from things that go squawk in the night. Secret Service communications were jammed this spring while the President was at his California ranch. The source was finally traced to two commercial paging companies in downtown Santa Barbara, "When we get a complaint from the Government, we have to roll on it immediately," says Larry Guy of the FCC in Los Angeles. "After all, it's a matter of national security.'

But the FCC can't be everywhere. So don't be surprised if some night on your street, a driver returning home activates his automatic lighting system, which trips his neighbors' lights, waking up their baby, whose crying is heard on the monitor down the street, which inspires angry phone calls that cause other cordless phones to ring in sympathetic vibration, waking the families down the block, which causes . . . - By Michael Walsh. Reported by Dan Cook/Los Angeles and Shella Gribben/Chicago





### Books

### **Journals of the Plague Years**

Three books reveal the risks and rewards of writing about AIDS

efore the tears, here are some icy numbers from the Centers for Disease Control. Of the 65,780 cases of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome reported in the U.S. since June 1981, 37,195 are now filed under Deceased. The rest seem likely to join them unless a magic bullet is discovered soon. Researchers are pessimistic.

This "retroactive" plague, as Andrew Holleran calls the AIDs epidemic in Ground Zero (Morrow; 228 pages; \$16.95), is causing not only panic but a radical change in sensibilities. Phrases like "oral

provides the subject of one of the first AIDS novels, Alice Hoffman's At Risk (Putnam; 219 pages; \$17.95), a suburban drama about an eleven-year-old schoolgirl gymnast who is inadvertently doomed during a routine appendectomy.

Nevertheless, AIDs is primarily associated with white, middle-class homosexuals, not only because of their numbers and high casualty rate but also because they are better organized and more articulate than other afflicted groups. It is somewhat patronizing to note that from Sappho to Ca-

done almost yearly since moving to Calibratia 1977. We were putting the blizzard of daily life on hold, looking ferward to a dose of raw sublime that coincided with our anniversary." Monette comes across as a trendy Southern California transplant. There is lots of eating out in abhonoushe restaurants, foreign travel anahonache restaurants, foreign travel and the control of the c

a four-day trip to Big Sur, something we'd

Only in the deathbed pages does Monette get sufficiently out of himself to write clearly and well. It is a saving grace



"I cannot talk to those who play at business as usual. I want to...throw buckets of sheep's blood on the White House lawn."

-MONETTE



"He holds up the mirror and Amanda takes a deep breath ... Then she smiles . . . because now she knows. She would have been beautiful."

-HOFFMAN



"Guard your health. It is all you have...Do not throw it away for the momentous pleasures of lust, or even the obliteration of loneliness."

-HOLLERAN

see" and "anal penetration," once starting to read outside hard-covers, are now routinely bounced off sitellites with the weather reports. "Sakitalities with the weather reports," one of the sweetest phrases in the language, now sug-sharply divided into the sick and the well, and AUIS can be something of a lark if you are a robust heteroscula college study as a side-sex, lecture where the instructor as a side-sex, lecture where the instructor between the control of the control of the side o

There are, of course, other victims: intravenous-drug users, prostitutes, infants condemned in the wombs of diseased mothers, and patients who received tainted blood transfusions. This last category pote, homosexuals have enriched Western literature. Today AIDS has put gay writers in the vortex of journalism.

□ Illean's collection of essays and Paul Monette's memoir of his dying lover, Borrowed Time (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich: 342 pages; 1855), are reports from the combat zone. They are far more period to the state of the sta

Monette, a poet and novelist, gushes awkwardly about this brief golden age: "Roger and I were busy getting ready for after his career chatter, social calendar and hyperbolic rage against the Government. When he pops off about sexual hypocrisy, he mixes some astoundingly inappropriate metaphors: "I realize that in the world of the heterosexual there is a generalized lip service paid to exclusive monogamy, a notion most vividly honored in the breach."

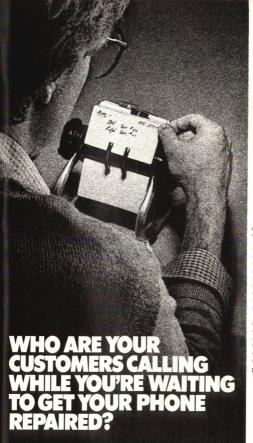
Borrowed Tim.

Germands a sympaBorrowed Tim.

Germands a sympathelic response Instead of inviting one.

Helic response Instead of inviting about personal misfortune: appalling about personal misfortune: appalling affects, tersely put, speak for themselves.

Holleran has the advantage of being a gifted novellst (Dancer from the Dance) with a keen, ironic intelligence. "Someday," he says, "writing about this plague may be read with pleasure, by people for whom it is a distant catastrophe, but I sus-



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<del>—</del>

### Books

pect the best writing will be nothing more. nor less, than a lament . . . The only other possible enduring thing would be a simple list of names-of those who behaved well, and those who behaved badly.

Holleran knows the limits of stoicism. He qualifies the old saying "Life is a tragedy to those who feel, a comedy to those who think" with "Too schematic ... most of us think and feel." Ground Zero is the proof. It is a tragicomic tour through Manhattan's homosexual nighttown: the gay bathhouses, pornographic theaters and bars that the author cruised a decade ago. He finds the atmosphere radioactive with fear; sperm reminds him of plutonium. In this subdued climate, Holleran finds new enjoyment with his surviving gay companions. He meets many over freshly dug graves and notes the difference in his friends, "as if someone went from adolescence to late middle age without the intervening gradations.

n At Risk, Amanda Farrell will not make it to puberty. Nothing wrenches so hard as the death of a child, and Hoffman knows just when and where to tug. Like Holleran, Hoffman (The Drowning Season, Fortune's Daughter) is mainstreaming a refined literary talent. Her new novel is structured like a movie, which probably explains why 20th Century-Fox wasted no time buying the film rights

At Risk is also a carefully composed work of fiction. From its first lines ("There is a wasp in the kitchen. Drawn by the smell of apricot jam, lazy from the morning's heat, the wasp hovers above the children"). Hoffman establishes a rhythm of inevitability. She sketches a bosky world in Massachusetts, populates it with wholesome families and engaging eccentrics. One young woman with modest paranormal powers seems like a character prewired for film directors who might want to plug in an occult package. But in the book she represents a sensitivity to mysteries of life and death that Amanda's family is too preoccupied to appreciate.

Hoffman gets the blend of hope and despair just right. She also conveys the social dimensions of childhood AIDS. The Farrells become pariahs: Amanda's friends and teammates shun her at their parents' insistence; her little brother Charlie gets cold-shouldered by his best friend; and her mother Polly gives up her free-lance photography business. On the up side, her father Ivan becomes friends with a terminally ill homosexual who is manning an AIDS hotline. Amanda's status as a potential gymnastic champion is more than a gimmick; it provides a standard by which her physical deterioration and emotional growth are measured. The little tumbler is a reminder that when A.E. Housman wrote "To an Athlete Dying Young," he did not mean this young. At Risk is a one-hankie book and could be a two-hankie movie. Not to worry. No one ever got sick from crying. Tears, in fact, make good medicine. By R.Z. Sheppard

### **Special Delivery**

UNSENT LETTERS by Malcolm Bradbury Viking; 218 pages; \$16.95

Fax, Fed Ex, computer modems: the great world is ahum with high-speed messengers, helping everybody hurtle through his wheedling and dealing at record pace. Sometimes it seems the only people left lurking about that most primitive example of communications hardware, the mailbox, are the creators of that quaintest of software, the novel. For unsuccessful writers the postal

service mostly outputs despair: rejection



slips and royalty statements showing negative balances. For literature's grandees it mainly offers worldly delights: invitations to accept honorary degrees, chair a grantgiving panel or cash a nice subsidiaryrights check. The more typical professional writer, however, earns neither pity nor envy-just a modest living, neither more perilously nor more glamorously obtained than anyone else's. For him, the post-

man's bag is ever a hilariously mixed one.

Or so Malcolm Bradbury would have us believe. A superior comic novelist (his 1976 The History Man may be the funniest English academic novel this side of Lucky Jim), Bradbury is also a hardworking critic, a professor of American studies at the University of East Anglia and, at 55, a man disinclined to suppress the cholers of middle age. Unsent Letters consists of 18 imaginary, therefore utterly forthright, responses to his junk mail.

He leaves the reader to guess how he would answer the simpler importunities: a "pleasing request to sit on the pavement for two days outside the Russian Embassy," or invitations to memorial services for departed rivals (though these are "more satisfying than learning they have published a new book"). It is the more drearily typical epistles that raise his ire and ironic spirit.

Take, for example, the German graduate student in search of a thesis topic, who claims "competences in Philologik, Linguistik, Pedagogik, Psycho-Analytik and Aerobik," but whose command of English is not so confident as his manner of address. "What I like is to take your 'campus-novels' . . . and compare them with the works of your better competitors-as, Thom. Hardy, Max Beerbohm. J.I.M. Stewart ... and David Lodge. Bradbury cannot resist compounding the young man's confusion ("It was clever of you . . . to work out that in fact I am several if not all of the authors you mention") while offering him a few biographical scoops ("It has been a difficult business. especially the episode of being married to

Mrs. Thomas Hardy").

So it goes, through a list of correspondents that includes most of the types who dwell on the literary life's ragged edges. The unpublished writer who aggressively demands that Bradbury read her last seven novels (enclosed) is turned aside with a compliment ("Be reassured, a masochistic and paranoid temperament is a wellknown sign of a great writer") and a practical suggestion ("May I recommend a pseudonym-something like John le Carré"). The young academic confronting his first job interview is reminded that he must dress both down (there is always a raging egalitarian on the committee who resents Oxbridge college ties) and up (someone else inevitably believes there is a correlation between white shirts and intelligence). "Of course you cannot please everyone," Bradbury counsels, "but for heaven's sake, Messmer, at least try.

Bradbury suggests that writers to whom the best-seller list and the movie sale are but distant dreams must become survivalists. As he says, there comes a time when the need for a pair or two of lamb's-wool socks and a typewriter with a functioning letter R on its keyboard will overwhelm high literary principle. When that happens, he implies, it is O.K. to respond favorably to the mail's more dubious propositions-to adapt a classic for television, for example, or address an academic conference (especially if its venue is warm and equipped with Jacuzzis). He draws the line only at concocting advertising copy, and offers one ironclad rule: form a partnership with a first-class Writer's Wife. His own, he notes, "looks after reality for me while I am absent from it, which I am most of the time.

But Unsent Letters is not so much an escape from reality as a transformation of it. Underneath the jokes lie a good deal of authentic, entertaining autobiography and many shrewd observations of the current literary and academic scenes. Readers not preoccupied with literary correspondence of their own will find it instructive as well as hilarious-and perhaps even cautionary. - By Richard Schickel



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### Theater

### London's Dry Season

Despite starry revivals, West End writing is wilting

roadway has long spoken in English accents, at first because audiences admired Britain's elegant actors and urbane playwrights, then because producers came to prefer works that had been pretested in London, where costs are cheaper and audiences perhaps more forgiving. In the early '80s, dramas by Tom Stoppard and Peter Shaffer dominated the Tony Awards for plays; while in the past few years, Trevor Nunn's staging and Andrew Lloyd Webber's melodies have provided the very definition of hit musicals. This year, though, a clog is developing in the transatlantic pipeline. While London offers the customary array of starry revivals, there are just two new plays of consequence-by, as it happens, Stoppard and Shaffer-and no worthy

The season's main song-and-dance times, Ziegdel and Winnie, are biographies with vapid books and recycled songs. The portrait of Showman Flo is slack and flower than the properties of Showman Flo is slack and properties of the p

past successes. Fourteen shows now running in London have been playing for a year or more, and ten of those have already been seen on Broadway. Cuts in government funding have made even the two big subsidized troupes, the National Theater and Royal Shakespeare Company, more eager to spin off shows into long West End and perhaps Broadway runs. Says Labor Member of Parliament Gwyneth Dunwoody: "Anything in the arts that is experimental and potentially unpopular is now much less likely to get done."

much less likely to get done."

Yet if the pickings are slim for would-be U.S. producers, the diet is considera-



History as fractured fairy tales: Smith and Tyzack in Lettice and Lovage

bly more nourishing for audiences. Stargazers can see Eartha Kitt in a revamped version of Stephen Sondheim's musical Follies, Wendy Hiller aglow in the American comedy Driving Miss Daisy and, starting next month. Rex Harrison in a revival of The Admirable Crichton. Those with a taste for undeservedly obscure classics can see two sprightly, acerbic Restoration comedies at R.S.C. headquarters in Stratford-upon-Avon, George Farquhar's The Constant Couple and William Wycherley's The Plain Dealer, plus Noël Coward's Easy Virtue, ably done in the West End. At the National, Dion Boucicault's The Shaughraun, a 19th century Irish separatist tract masquerading as a farcical melodrama, proves its author a deft orchestrator of tone and plot.

The finest revival on any London stage is an *Uncle Vanya* (translated by Michael Frayn, directed by Michael Blakemore) that does justice to both Chekhov's hearty humor and his compassionate sadness at the waste of frustrated lives. It perceives the play's dominant tone not as lethargy but as furious, tragically misdirected energy. As Vanya, Michael Gambon demonstrates anew why he has come to be regarded as perhaps Britain's foremost stage actor. Alternately raging and lapsing into bathos, bubbling with kindness as he worsens the lives of those he most means to help, he embodies the tragedy of a common man. Just as powerful are Imelda Staunton as Vanya's homely niece and Jonathan Pryce as the destructive doctor whom she loves. Shakespeare is admirably served at the

R.S.C. by an unstitutingly gory Titus Andronicus, a Twelfth Night that underscores the play's dialectic between religious piety and hedonism and a Merchant of Venice that stars Anthony Sher as an unabashedly Levantine Shylock. Sher's litting cadence, bushy beard, flowing robes and sinuously

Oriental gestures bespeak his status as an outsider in a world, much like our own, where economic imperatives bring diverse peoples into close contact without necessarily allowing them to understand one another.

At the National, Sir Peter Hall is concluding his 15-year tenure as artistic director with productions of three of Shakespeare's final plays, The Winter's Tale. The Tempest and Cymbeline. The plays, which Hall sees as Shakespeare's collective valedictory, are performed on much the same actors. The high point is Cymbeline, with its Spielbergian supernatural touch-bergian supernatural touch-bergian supernatural touch-



Cold war, physics and multiple twins: Rees and Hawthorne in Hapgood Sensitive acting in service of glittering wordplay.

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es (ghosts appearing in dreams, Jupiter descending from the heavens) and robust battles. In one chilling scene, two panels of the back wall bang open to reveal opposing armies about to pour onto the policy and proper of the property of th

Many of Shakespeare's plays, including Cymbeline, present history almost as fractured fairy tales. Does it matter? No. emphatically not, would be the response of the dottily romanticizing tour guide Lettice, played by Maggie Smith in Lettice and Lovage, Shaffer's rambling but zesty comedy. The first act takes place in a dreary stately home, adorned chiefly by her fanciful tales. The last rings in the movement against modern architecture, a campaign that, thanks in part to the patronage of Prince Charles, enjoys far fiercer support in Britain than in the U.S. To Lettice, modernism scorns the past and its romance. Yet what lingers from the play's three sprawling hours is Smith's one-woman parade of fussy antics and arch-nasalities to the dumb-struck wonderment of Margaret Tyzack as the horrified boss turned sly collaborator. Shaffer needs to edit and focus. Lettice's architectural views notwithstanding, less can be more.

Stoppard, whose plays at minimum offer glorious wordplay and the shimmering surface of what seems to be Big Ideas, as it his funness and saddest in Augusta. The shimmer and the state of t

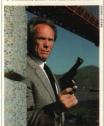
The problem, as always with Stoppard, is plot. Hapgood is either too much a thriller narrative-replete with an elaborate opening chase sequence that deliberately recalls bedroom farce in its slamming of doors and dropping of trousersor not enough of one to offer any real surprises. Stoppard radiates ambivalence about the genre he has chosen. Again, as with Shaffer, redemption comes from the maryelous acting of Felicity Kendal as an intelligence agent painfully aware of her shortcomings as a mother, Nigel Hawthorne as a wise colleague and, above all, Roger Rees as the defector, who is also the secret father of Kendal's schoolboy son. The spellbound joy and agony on his face as he listens mutely on the telephone to the voice of the boy he can never claim as his, can scarcely even see, is the finest moment of performance in London. It makes this sere season well worth the -By William A. Henry III

### Cinema

### **Harry Sundown**

THE DEAD POOL
Directed by Buddy Van Horn
Screenplay by Steve Sharon

Twenty-five years ago, as legend has it, a genie with a six-day stubble alighted genie with a six-day stubble alighted on Clint Eastwood's shoulder and vouchassed him the secret of star acting. "Don't act. You're an icon, pal. Get used to it." The advice has served Eastwood well. From his starmaking stint as the Man with No Name in Sergio Leone's paghetit westerns to this, his fifth film as Dirty Harry Callahan. Eastwood has built a durable



Eastwood cocks an eyebrow and a trigger "Go ahead, punks. Make my career."

celebrity on his unique brand of Zen surfiness. By now his character need hardly cock an eyebrow, let alone a trigger, to send supervillains hurtling to their deaths. "Go ahead, punks," he might snarl as a new legion of psychopaths buts up against his belligerence. "Make my career."

So as Harry, San Francisco's most lethal cop, Eastwood can earn both laughs and respect just by standing in a crowded elevator and grunting "Swell" to his boss. Truth is, this time around, he doesn't get to do much else. Evan Kim, as Inspector Harry's Chinese-American partner, is allowed to display some martial-arts machismo. Liam Neeson, playing a director of low-budget slasher movies who is high on Harry's list of suspects in a serial-killer case, corners the market in upscale cynicism. James Carrey gets to go fruitfully bananas as a rock star on the mainline to an early grave. And David Hunt, as a maniac film fancier named Harlan, provides the jolt of menace. Hunt can even terrify a film critic before slicing her to shreds-the ultimate negative review. No such fun for Clint; he mainly stands there and simmers.

Oh, Harry may shoot or squash or harpoon the odd malefactor. He may find fellowship with Patricia Clarkson, a Sondra Locke look-alike who plays a prying TV reporter. And he does get to drive in the big chase scene, in which a remote-controlled toy car with explosives attached hounds Harry through the town's roller-coaster streets. True Californians, he and his partner never think to get out and run for cover. But then, this picture's soul is located 400 miles south, in the Los Angeles movie industry, where metaphorical backstabbing is business as usual. "It's not a rip-off," says the slasher auteur about his latest film. "It's a homage." That must make The Dead Pool a homage to every action thriller since Little Caesar. It is also, with its clued-in cynicism and some snazzy repartee, maybe the best movie ever directed by a man named Buddy. And it surely proves that when it comes to sulfurous star quality, the genie was right. - By Richard Corliss

### **Cartoony Caper**

A FISH CALLED WANDA Directed by Charles Crichton Screenplay by John Cleese

Think of Otto (Kevin Kline) as Daify Duck, a fellow whose foot—when it's not in his mouth—is always obsessively pressed to the emotional floorboard. Think of Ken (Michael Palin) as Elmer Fadd, a stammerer whose mild manner hides a ferocious temper. Think of Wanda (Jamie Lee Curtis) as—big leap here—Bugs Bunny, all wisceracks and cool decit. And think of A Fish Called Wanda as the next best thing to a Looney Tunes—Merric Melodies summerfest.

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The movie bilithely places live actors in strations usually the exclusive preserve of drawn figures. Kline, who plays dumb brill inatify, even gets run over by a steamroller and lives to yell about it—aleast until the isblown off the wing of an ascending air-plane. Somehow, the admirable Crichton, a veterant director opsiware failing come-dies (The Luvender Hill Moh), contrives to expert certainly as weightless as an anima-some of the work of the work of the different agreement agreement of the different agreement agre

### Essay

### John Elson

### The Gods Are Crazy

Like many another wide-eyed couch potato. I had eagerly awaited each weekly episode of Joseph Campbell and the Power of Myth. Bill Moyers' series of interviews on Piss with the late Professor Campbell, one of the world's reigning experts on mythology, was fascinating stuff, if you're really into fertility cutts, purification rites and the like. But the show wasn't all Upanishads and Choctaw legends. Once in a while, with Moyers smirring approval in the background, Campbell would offer some solid, down-to-earth advice. Campbell would offer some solid, down-to-earth advice. Once in the spirit stude to the arch is means of keeping one's inner spirit studend to the arch is means of keeping one's inner spirit studend to the arch means of keeping ports in the second and mythe that surround us even in this secular age. Well, that seemed a pretty shrewd observation.

I awoke early—too early, barely able to breathe. There was fur in my mouth and an ominous purring sound in my ears. It was Sakhmet, the family cat, sitting on my face.

Might today be the Tweifth of Tybi, which commemorates the massacre perpetrated by the Feline Goddess of ancient Egypt? It was too horrible to contemplate. "Get out of here. Sakhmett" I shouted, sitting bolt upright. My wife Libra opened an eye. Her scales of Justice, as usual, were at the ready. "About your behavior at the party last night..."

"Not now, dear. I have a headache."

I lumbered to the bathroom and stared uncertainly into the mirror. What stared back was ... was ... was if Thomagata, the one-yed, four-eared Colombian god of thunder, chastened by his encounter with the sun-god Bochica? Or was it Chonchonyi, the revolting, bloodsucking god of Chile with the long, flapping ears? Shuddering, a stepped into the shower. As It is stepped into the shower. As It

hot, healing liquid bathed my shoulders, I felt like . . like . . like Kappa, the solemn little Japanese water demon, renowned for his punctilious manners. Or perhaps like Ahto, the water god of the ancient Finns, who lived under a sea cliff. (But then perhaps not. Ahto's beard was made of moss, and I had shaved already.)

Garbed for another grueling day in the urtan jungle. I loped into the dimig room. Our children serve already at the table, finishing their homework over breakfast. Krishna, the table, finishing their homework over breakfast. Krishna, the elder, was engrossed in the Bhagward-Chita. Kikimora, his younger sister, was muttering an incantation in Old Sluvn-ic. (They both attended the International School. Such a melting pot!) "What's today's morning repast?" I asked herefully, reaching for the sports pages of the New York Times." Ambrosia, they answered in unison. How suitably its control of the property of the property

I was delighted to read that my favorite ball club, New York's own Mets, had won yesterday, defeating Chicago's Ursa Minor (sorry, Cubs) in a thrill-packed game. Once again, the winning run had been driven in by Darryl Strawberry. To those without mythic insight, Strawberry is just at all, moody rightfielder who wallops long, high-arcing home runs. To me, though, Darryl seemed like the incarnation of ... of ... of ... of Nyamia Ama, the all-powerful storm good of Senegal. Nyamia Ama is said to be somewhat remote and invisible. (Well, sometimes Strawberry doesn't like interviews either.)

Time for work. Low scudding clouds threatened the immediate appearance of Jupiter Plivius, so I took the subway. New Yorkers commonly describe a ride on their book loved rapid-transit system as a journey through Hades, and mine this day was no exception. Heading downtown, I boarded one of the system's older trains—creaking, crotchboarded one of the system's older trains—creaking, crotchral training training training training training training training training at the cluster of squiggles, spray-partners, and the state I had 18.3 Was It. ... 2 Could it be. ... 2 Yes, there in Babylonian script were the opening words of the Gligamesh Epic. "Sha nap-ab invariant un-sheed-film-an-a-til"

A garbied voice crackled incoherently over the public address system. The words sounded like "Frêng-tu Ta-it". How strange, I mused, that the conductor would invoke the legendary rebel turned emperor of the Chrin dynasty through whom the Kings of Hell results of the stranger of the through whom the sings to be teaven. Just the stranger what our Charnon of the Underworld had said. "Forty-second next," he answered, Hmm.

If was not to be a good day, Just as I finished a second cup of coffee, an editor called me, requesting some fixes on a story. As we discussed the changes, my mind began to transmogrify. His familiar visage took on the horrible features of Tezcatlipoca, Mexico's evil magiciangod with blazing eyes and slobbering tongue. If one encounters this deposition of the properties the second of the properties of the second of the

dreadful apparition, legend has it, one's only hope is to thrust a hand into the god's bloody chest cavity and seize its palpitating heart.

As I leaned forward in my, chair, a trembling hand outstrebed, an insident question brook through my reverie. 'Is severything clear?' "Righty sock." I answered smartly. 'The new version will be on your dear. It answered smartly. 'The new version will be on your dear the properties of the concentrate. The list clear office, though, it was hard to concentrate. The list clear office though it was hard to concentrate. The list clear office though it was hard to concentrate. The list clear office office, though it was hard to concentrate. The list office office in the land computer serem blanded measurably list on a consisting Cyclops. I felt like Sityphus, endlessly, futilely pushing a cock up abill Or, that I were bash, the Mesopotaming put of writing and destiny, whose powers could alter the days allotted to men in this list.

Eventually, though, the story was finished. At home, Bacchus-like, I poured myself a preprandial libation, but I was far too tired to contemplate an evening of Dionysian delights. Myths, I thought. Too many demons and deities. They are all about us. Here. There. Everywhere ...

Libra was in the TV room. As she flicked on the set I saw the shadowy outline of two talking heads. "Oh, look," she said, siren-like. "PBS has a rerun of your favorite show. Want to

No, I said. Enough already. I've had it with video myths. From now on, it's nothing but Pee-wee Herman and Celebrity Bowling for me.



### Nuclear energy, <u>not</u> foreign oil, is the best way to prevent electricity shortages

Electricity is so vital to way of life that a shortage of electricity is unthinkable. Yet some parts of the country are already experiencing brownouts during peak periods of during peak periods of metal that the world with the run out?" The question is "What price will we have to pay?"

Our electricity demand will outgrow our present supply. It is only a matter of time. Federal planners believe that our current generating capacity may not be enough to supply our peak electrical demand in the 1990s.

America's electricity use has steadily increased for the last 50 years, and has grown over 45% since the 1973 Arab oil embargo. This growing electricity demand is already forcing us to turn to oil.

### Imported oil: a dangerous fix

The longer we wait to build new coal and nuclear plants, the more

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we will have to depend on oil. Using more oil plants would increase our foreign oil imports, worsen our trade deficit, and make America even more dangerously dependent on foreign countries for crucial energy.

### More nuclear plants needed

Nuclear energy is already America's second largest source of electricity after coal. By reducing the use of foreign oil to make electricity, nuclear plants have saved America \$105 billion in foreign oil payments since 1973. Nuclear plants have also helped cut consumer electric bills by over \$60 billion. Nuclear energy reduces America's dependence on foreign oil, not only at electric power plants, but wherever electricity replaces oil. It supplies a large part of the electricity that our economy needs to prosper.

If you'd like more information on making America more energy independent, write to the U.S. Council for Energy Awareness, P.O. Box 66103, Dept. SH01, Washington, D.C. 20035.

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